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SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ACCULTURATION AMONG THE KANURI OF NORTHERN NIGERIA

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by

Abraham Rosman

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ABSTRACT

Social Structure and Acculturation among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria

by Abraham Rosman

105 The Kanuri people are the dominant element of the population of Bornu Province, in northeastern Nigeria, bordering on Lake Chad. At one time the Kanuri had a powerful state, known as the Empire of Bornu. At the time that the field research for the present study was carried out (1956-1957), they were under British colonial rule. Since the beginning of this century Kanuri culture has been changing as a result of contact with the industrial West. The present study focuses on these changes, as they have been channeled through Kanuri social structure.

128 Chapter I provides the ethnographic and historical background for the material which follows. Chapter II describes the general features of Kanuri culture. Chapter III describes the community of Geidam in which the study was carried out. These chapters present the broad outlines of Kanuri culture and the social structure of an urban community, in order to provide a framework for the data on acculturation.

Chapter IV presents the theoretical orientation of the acculturation study, describes the sample of informants, and presents the measures of acculturation which were used. Three hypotheses concerning the relationship between social structure and acculturation are proposed.

The data on acculturation are derived from a questionnaire-interview which was given to forty-four informants, who are representative of eight distinct social categories in the Geidam community. Chapter V presents the analysis of these data. The final chapter, Chapter VI, discusses the data in the light of the hypotheses advanced earlier, and examines some of the theoretical implications of the findings.

Forty-seven tables and four figures are presented in the text, and a glossary of Kanuri words is provided.

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Chapter I

Introduction

101 This study was carried out among the Kanuri people of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria. The writer and his wife were in Nigeria from August, 1956 until October, 1957. Almost all of that time was spent in the town of Geidam, in the northern part of the province.

A. Geography

131 1. Major geographic features.

Bornu Province is in the northeastern corner of Nigeria.
It is bounded to the north by what was then Niger Territory,
French West Africa (now the independent Republic of the Niger).
[133] To the east lie the marshy shores of Lake Chad and, south of
the lake, Cameroons, trusteeship territory administered as part
of Bornu Province. The Yobe River, largest of the rivers flowing through Bornu into Chad, forms the northern border of the
[161] province for much of its length. Maiduguri, the provincial
capital, population 56,740, lies roughly in the geographic cen-
[491] ter of the province. The main road through the province runs
from Jos through Maiduguri and then on to Fort Lamy in Chad.
[496] The railroad barely penetrates into Bornu, running from Kano
and ending in the northwest tip of Bornu at Nguru, the second
largest town in the province.

133 Bornu is a huge sandy plain, contrasting sharply with the rugged country of the Bauchi Plateau, which rises steeply to the southwest. South of the plain is the hilly area of Biu which is in Bornu Province. The flat plain extends eastward,

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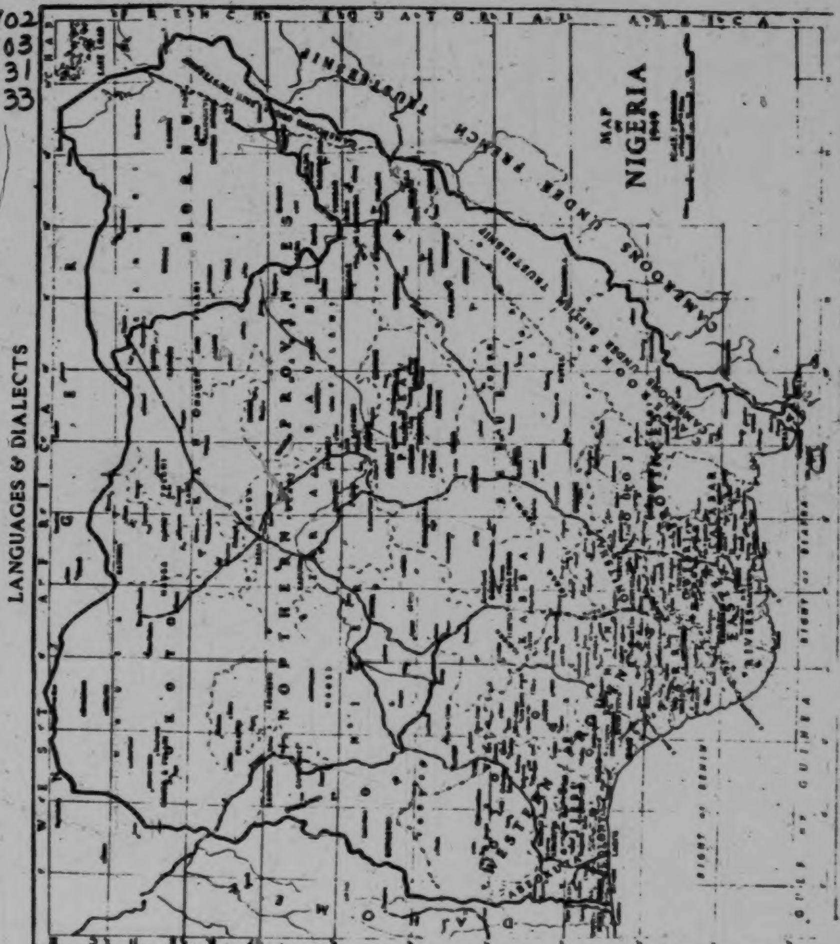
LANGUAGES & DIALECTS
WEST AFRICA
MAP of NIGERIA 1949
NORTHERN PROVINCES
SOKOTO
BORNU
ZARIA
BAUCHI
KABBA
NIGER
WESTERN PROVINCES
EASTERN PROVINCES
RIVERS
CALABAR
OGOJA
CAMEROONS UNDER BRITISH TRUSTEESHIP
CAMEROONS UNDER FRENCH TRUSTEESHIP
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
DAHOMEY
BIGHT of BENIN
BIGHT of BIAFRA
GULF of GUINEA

Figure 1 - Map of Nigeria

133 south of Lake Chad, into the Cameroons. Here the fingertips of the great Cameroon highland range, steep and impenetrable, extend into the flatlands.

2. The Nature of the Land.

The sweep of the horizon, as one travels in Bornu proper,
is unbroken by hills. But as one goes north from Maiduguri
toward Geidam, the land perceptibly rises and falls, and in the
neighborhood of the town of Geidam these rises become steep.
On close examination one notices that the rises are really no
more than dunes, their inner consistency concealed by the cov-
137 ering vegetation. The natural vegetative cover here is sparse,
limited largely to a profusion of low shrubs and bushes, most
of them thorny. Much of the year the grass is brown and parched.
[134] However the sandy soil is fertile. Immediately following the
beginning of the rains, early in May, the new shoots begin to
grow and soon the thick, coarse grass covers everything. Like
the low bushes, the grass brings its harvest of burrs and thistles.
In heavily watered places one may see copses of trees, but by far
the most impressive tree characteristic of the area is the bao-
bab or kuka (Adansonia digitata). Baobabs are relatively tall,
but their huge thickness of trunk gives them a distorted ap-
pearance which is heightened by gnarled, twisted, stunted limbs.
They grow in solitary splendor, and are used as land marks be-
cause of their prominence against the flat line of the horizon.
Again, traveling north toward Geidam, one notices that the water

137 courses are marked increasingly by dum palm trees (Cucifers Thebafca), and this heightens the impression that the border of the great Sahara desert lies not far away.

133 Because of the flatness of the land, rain water does not drain readily into streams and rivers. Low areas become marshes, roads become quagmires, and towns are completely cut off. The Yobe, a slow, meandering river, flows throughout the year though it may dwindle to a width of twenty-five feet in the dry season. At some time in July its flood reaches Geidam and it then swells to a width of half a mile.

3. Rainfall and Temperature.

132 The agricultural productivity of the region is determined completely by the amount of rainfall. The rainy season begins in early May and lasts until October. Sporadic rains mark its beginning. During its height it may rain every other day, usually at evening time for half an hour to an hour.. The storm clouds can be seen gathering in the east in the late afternoon. A strong warning wind precedes the rain, which descends in sheets. At times during the rainy season, from a slight rise of ground, one can see several distinct storms on the horizon, the distant columns of mist falling from their individual clouds. During this time of the year the temperature is moderate and pleasant.

The rains steadily decrease in frequency and come to a halt in October. A brief hot season follows, lasting until December when the cold sets in. For several months the temperature drops

132 nightly, often approaching freezing. This is also the time of the harmattan, a strong wind bearing down from the desert, carrying with it silt and fine white sand. The sand stings the face and chaps the lips. It penetrates all cracks and openings, covering everything with fine powder. The mornings are cold but the noon sun is always strong and brilliant.

This period is followed by the long hot season. For months the temperature ranges between ninety and one hundred degrees F., often soaring to one hundred and ten degrees. Clouds never appear and the glaring sun is reflected and intensified by the shimmering sand. Beneath the unrelenting sun the countryside withers and turns brown.

B. History

175 [101] The name 'Bornu' refers to the ancient empire of Bornu which existed here for more than a thousand years. The Kanuri people, builders of the empire of Bornu, moved into the plain of Bornu from the still more arid reaches north and east of Lake Chad. According to the historical sources, the Sefawa, a part of the Zaghawa tribe, allied themselves with the Teda in the neighborhood of Kawar at about 850 A.D. and proceeded to the southwest, organizing the early kingdom of Kanem, with its capital, Birni Njimi, near the northeastern edge of Lake Chad. Bornu was then the most southerly province. In 1389 the Sef dynasty, as it had then become, was expelled from Kanem and moved to Bornu. From that time onward Bornu became the center

175 of the empire. In the latter part of the fifteenth century (ca.
1470) the empire was consolidated and the city of Birni Ngazar-
gamu was founded on the River Yobe. It remained the capital of
the empire of Bornu for 350 years. In 1507 the former capital
of Birni Njimi was recaptured and Kanem became a province of
[072] Bornu. The site of Birni Ngazargamu is twenty-five miles from
the present town of Geidam, and its extensive ruins can be seen
today.

During the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning
of the seventeenth century, the empire reached its zenith. Its
boundaries stretched to Fezzan in the north, beyond Kawar and
Tibesti, to the Nile in an easterly direction, and to Dikwa and
175 the districts south of Lake Chad. Many minor states paid
177
[648] tribute to Bornu. At that time Bornu was in close contact with
[487] both Egypt and Tripoli. Controlling the southern terminus of
the shortest trans-Saharan caravan route, which ran from Tripoli
through the Fezzan and the oasis of Bilma to Lake Chad and Birni
Ngazargamu, the empire of Bornu was in regular contact with the
[411] Mediterranean area in earliest times. Guns were introduced
into Bornu from Tripoli at the end of the sixteenth century
[179] and became a factor in the expansion of the empire. Via these
established trade contacts, Islam came to Bornu in the eleventh
[183] century. With the coming of Islam came also the tradition of
study and learning which has persisted as a part of Kanuri cul-
ture.

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567
[439] The institution of slavery had always been a part of this

175 567 [839] complex of empire since slaves, along with gold, ivory, and ostrich feathers, had been traded for centuries across the Sahara and fed into Mediterranean markets. Slaves were obtained by raiding the pagan peoples who inhabited the upland areas to the south and southeast of Bornu.

175 636 Throughout this time the Hausa people, immediately to the west of the Kanuri, were under the suzerainty of the empire of Bornu. Though the Hausa are much more numerous than the Kanuri, their level of political development had not advanced beyond city-states, which were under the control of the unified and
175 167 powerful Bornu empire. The gradual entry of the Fulani into the area eventually led to the downfall of the domination of Bornu over the Hausa states. The Fulani are a nomadic cattle people deriving from the Atlantic coast area to the distant west. By the early part of the nineteenth century, drifting continuously to the east, they had become numerous in Hausa
175 721 territory. In 1804 the Fulani, under Usuman dan Fodio, rose up in holy war and gained control over the Hausa city states. They succeeded in sacking and destroying Birni Ngazargamu, and were finally repelled when the Kanuri rulers obtained assistance from the Kanembu to the north.

175 439 The inability of the Bornu empire to resist Fulani attacks was an indication of its decline and decay, and this in turn was the result of a much larger historical process: the decline in importance of the western Sudan and the development of the coastal areas of West Africa. Whereas the Sudanese states had

175 439 formerly been in control of the great trans-Saharan trade routes which brought the products of Negro Africa into the European world, the European nations had established direct trading relations with the coastal peoples by the beginning of the sixteenth century and the importance of the trans-Saharan trade began to dwindle. As trade with the north declined in importance, the Sudanese empires founded on this trade were no longer able to maintain themselves.

175 The empire of Bornu, however, continued to exist though much smaller in size. A new capital, Kukawa, was built near
[643] the shores of Lake Chad. The ancient Sef dynasty, whose 'Mais' (kings) had ruled since the beginning of the empire, was replaced by the family of El Kanemi, the Kanembu leader who had
[554] been instrumental in driving out the Fulani. The title of
[568] Shehu (Sheikh) replaced that of Mai. Within Bornu proper a
[423] feudal system existed. Titled nobility were given huge tracts of land by the Shehu. Though these lords lived in Kukawa, the capital, they collected taxes and otherwise administered their lands.

175 648 The weakened empire was unable to resist a final attack, this time from the east. Rabeh, leader of a renegade army from the Sudan which had failed in an attempted revolt there, overran Bornu in 1893. He, in turn, was killed by the French in
175 648 1900. In 1902 British forces entered Bornu, and reestablished the line of the Shehus which had been broken by Rabeh's occupation. The British then ruled in Bornu through the considerably altered organization of the former empire. The Shehu of Bornu,

175
648
643 The Shehu of Bornu,
however, remains as the religious and political head of the Kanuri people.

C. The Ethnographic Distribution of Peoples in the Area.

197 1. Linguistic Classification.

The Kanuri language, according to Greenberg's classification, is part of the Central Saharan language family, one of the twelve genetically distinct language families which he has isolated in Africa. The Central Saharan language family includes Kanuri, Teda, Dazza, Zaghawa, Baele, Bideyat and Berti, all in contiguous distribution. The Kanuri are the southwesternmost extension of this language family. They are almost completely surrounded by people speaking languages of the Chad family. These include: Hausa, Buduma, Kotoko, Mandara, Marghi, and Bolewa. In this solid block of Chad-speaking peoples the Kanuri form a peninsula of Central Saharan speakers, related to [174] languages far to the northeast. This is in agreement with the historical sources which trace the movement of the Kanuri into Bornu from the area northeast of Lake Chad.

2. The Major Groups.

648
177 The historical factors which led to the development of the empire of Bornu and determined its relations to neighboring peoples and states are reflected in the cultural distribution of [171] peoples in the area today. The Kanuri are one of the many Mos- [779] lem peoples stretching in a wide belt across the Western Sudan.

648 [101] [431] To the immediate west of the Kanuri are the Hausas over whom the Kanuri once ruled. Signs of the early relationship between Hausa and Kanuri are still in evidence. The Hausa chief of Zinder, a large city in Niger north of Kano, still sent gifts to the Shehu of Bornu as a mark of allegiance upon being appointed to office by the French authorities. The Shehu in British Nigeria then sent him in return a ceremonial robe of office.

167 563 177 The Fulani have continued to infiltrate into Bornu and are numerous in the western sections of the province. In similar fashion, the Shuwa Arabs have in recent times been moving into Bornu from the east. The Shuwa represent the westernmost penetration of the Arabic-speaking African peoples. They are found concentrated in the southeastern sections of Bornu, in [437] [463] the region of Bama and Dikwa. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa are semi-nomadic pastoralists, living in a partially symbiotic relation with the agricultural Kanuri.

3. The Resistant Groups.

177 The Cameroon highlands, sixty miles southeast of Bama, remain the outpost of pagan peoples. The people of the Gwoza hills, one of the last "unpacified" areas in all Nigeria, still continue to resist their Moslem neighbors of the plains, as they had throughout the slave raiding of the Bornu empire. Some seventy thousand people, comprising a number of tribes and speaking several languages, live in the secure isolation of their mountain stronghold, resisting equally the penetration

177 of Moslems and Europeans.

4. Peoples acculturated to the Kanuri

177 563 101 A circle of peoples surrounding the Kanuri have become, in varying degrees, acculturated to the Kanuri. These are relatively small groups who today are part pagan, part Moslem, and who speak Kanuri as well as their own individual languages. They lie in a sweeping circle along the borders of the area occupied by the Kanuri.

Directly east of the Kanuri, along the borders of Lake Chad and on the innumerable islands in the lake itself, live the Buduma. They probably represent part of the indigenous population of the plains of Bornu, forced into the inhospitable environment of the lake by the incoming Kanuri. Buduma living on the shores of the lake and in constant contact with Kanuri are Moslem and very Kanurified (acculturated to the Kanuri). Those in the interior are neither.

South of the lake and southeast of the Kanuri towns of Dikwa and Bama are two large tribes, the Mandara and the Kotoko (or Mogori). Kotoko towns like Segel, on the border of Chad, whose inhabitants are in immediate contact with the Kanuri from nearby towns, are very Kanurified. The people of Segel all speak Kanuri in addition to Kotoko, but the Kotoko are a distinct group. The Mandara, Moslem like the Kotoko, are more strongly identified with the Kanuri. Many individuals of Mandara origin live among the Kanuri and have adopted Kanuri cul-

177 563 101 [567] ture. Many slave families among the Kanuri today were originally Mandara. The Mandara live to the immediate east of the mountainous area inhabited by the Gwoza pagans, and Mandara is the lingua franca for the Gwoza hills.

The Marghi of Damboa District, just west of the Gwoza hills, are perhaps the clearest case of a group which, though still identifiable as a distinct people culturally, is fast
[567] losing that identity and adopting Kanuri culture. The Marghi, up to recent times, served as a source of slaves for the Kanuri. Famous Kanuri title holders were Marghi slaves, called by the surname 'Marghi'. In Bornu Province they have become entirely integrated within the larger Kanuri society, within the present Kanuri-dominated political system, and within the urban-oriented economy of the area which looks towards the Kanuri capital, Maiduguri. Although older people among the Marghi still speak their own language, it is very common to find younger generation Marghi who have never learned Marghi and speak only Kanuri.

The Babur people live in the hilly upland area directly south of the Kanuri, centering around the town of Biu. They remain a part-Moslem, part-pagan people. The Bura and the Tera are sub-groups of the Babur. The upper classes of the Babur are entirely Moslem, and speak Kanuri. Many Babur have moved to Kanuri towns, particularly to Maiduguri. Often, after being accepted by the Kanuri community, they seek to deny affiliation with the Babur and call themselves Kanuri.

The Bolewa, southwest of the heart of Kanuri territory, 177 563 101 are a more distinct group. The Bolewa are one of a number of small tribes in the area centering around the towns of Fika and Potiskum. However, while the Bolewa are a Moslem people, the Kerekere, Ngizim, and Ngamo, who all live in the same area, are pagans. Since this region was under the direct control of the empire of Bornu, the Moslem Bolewa are oriented towards Bornu and the Kanuri. The upper classes of the Bolewa speak Kanuri. The Kerekere, Ngizim and Ngamo show little sign of Kanuri influence.

Lastly, the Bede of Gashua are a group completely surrounded by Kanuri. The town of Gashua lies eighty-three miles west of Geidam, between the Kanuri towns of Nguru and Geidam, both of which are larger than Gashua. The Bede have retained their own language, though almost all Bede speak Kanuri as well. They are a part-Moslem people, acculturated to the dominant Kanuri who envelop their small area.

177 563 [175] [636] The various peoples mentioned above are culturally distinct groups living along the borders of the area of the Kanuri and in constant contact with Kanuri culture. During the time of the empire of Bornu they were all to some extent subject peoples of the Kanuri. As a result they have become acculturated to the Kanuri, but have retained their identity as separate groups. This process is different from that of groups of people who inhabited the plains of Bornu at the time of the coming of the Kanuri and were subjugated and absorbed by the Kanuri. They have not become completely submerged, for they may still exist

177 563 as localized sub-cultures of the Kanuri, of which there are many. However, they are Kanuri culturally and recognize themselves as such.

D. The Over-all Forces Affecting Kanuri Culture.

161 The Kanuri number over a million. Three-quarters of a million Kanuri live in Nigeria. The Republic of the Niger is largely Kanuri in population in its southwestern sections.

178 105 177 The culture of a people never remains static; it is constantly changing in response to forces, both external and internal. Among the forces instrumental in bringing about changes in Kanuri culture one could cite the introduction of Islam and the concomitant changes occurring in its reinterpretation by the Kanuri; the economic ties with north Africa; the influences of the indigenous population of the Bornu plains as the Kanuri peoples moved into the area; the adaptations demanded by an expanding political system; and finally, the changes resulting from a decline of empire and ultimate conquest. Significant changes are occurring in Kanuri culture today, brought about by contact with Western civilization. The effects of European influence are strongly felt in many areas of life.

1. The Political Situation.

648 [101] At the time that this study was carried out (1956-1957) Nigeria was a British colony, under the political control of the British colonial office. The political situation has changed

648 greatly since that time, as Nigeria is an independent nation today.

The policy of the British in Northern Nigeria had been one of indirect rule. In this manner, a small administrative staff was able to govern a huge area, and the chiefs and Emirs of the North remained the political rulers in their own areas. 631 642 Bornu Province is divided administratively into five Emirates, though the Emirate of Bornu overshadows the remaining four in geographic area, population, and political importance. The Emirates of Bornu and of Bama are Kanuri. The Emirs of Fika, Biu and Gashua rule over three small tribes, discussed in the preceding section, which are within the sphere of Kanuri influence. 634 In addition to the Emirates, the provinces of the North are divided into districts, and each district has an appointed native District Head. The large Emirates are made up of many districts; the small Emirates sometimes have no more than a single district. Bornu Emirate has twenty-one districts.

648 Although the British ruled through the existing political system in Bornu Emirate, they controlled all important policy decisions and they had brought about important changes in the political organization of the Kanuri in order to carry out their policies. The actual relationship between the British Resident, who was in charge of the province, assisted by his staff of District Officers, and the Shehu, his Waziri and the Shehu's Council, differed radically from that officially stated. Although the British administration claimed to be merely advisory, it was

648 the actual administrative power. The twenty-one District Heads
648 643 in Bornu Emirate were appointed by the Shehu, as was the Waziri,
634 and the members of the Shehu's council. Although these appointments
formally need not be approved by the British administration,
in practice their approval was necessary.

634 The system of District Heads replaced the feudal absentee
175 631 landlords who controlled Bornu in the latter half of the nineteenth
178 century. Many peasants still refer to their District
[651] Head as chima, the name for the feudal lord of former times,
since one of the main functions of the District Head is the
[829] collection of taxes. Although many commoners continue to view
the system today much as their ancestors looked upon the political
system during the days of the Bornu Empire, radical changes
[642] had been brought about. Under the empire actions and decisions
of the feudal lords were subject only to the disapproval of the
[648] Shehu, the absolute ruler. Today a still larger political unit,
the government of Nigeria, maintains a legal system which protects
all citizens though they may not be aware of it. A Kanuri
could appeal out of his own political system, and seek the protection
of a British District Officer against the ruling of his
own Village Head or District Head. Obviously such a move might
have serious repercussions and not many individuals decided to
take the step. Nevertheless, the alternative existed.

692 In accordance with the British practice of ruling through
779 native institutions where possible, the formal legal system of
Northern Nigeria continued to be Islamic law, more precisely

692 779 Maliki law, a particular school of Islamic law which became established in this part of the Western Sudan. Kanuri judges, trained in the Kano Law School, administer the law as alkalis. But all court records were open to the District Officer (who, incidentally, had Magisterial powers), and though he could not legally overrule an alkali's decisions, the District Officer could be instrumental in having an alkali replaced.

625 648 Still more important, the Native Authority of Bornu Emirate maintains a police force with semi-autonomous functions, which was controlled by a British Assistant Superintendent of Police. He was under the real control of the British Provincial administration, and was able to investigate with a free hand. The actions of the police force served to keep down crime and therefore to protect the citizenry. But the police force served the additional function of indicating to the Kanuri Native Authority that the force behind the legal system was under the control of an outside agency.

665 178 Lastly, with reference to changes in the total political system which effect Kanuri culture, recent years have brought about the development of regional political parties. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), the party in power in the House of Assembly of the Northern Region, has been strongly identified with the traditional ruling powers, the Emirs of the North, and is so viewed by the bulk of the population. Opposition parties have grown in importance, particularly in the urban areas where they receive their main support. The Bornu Youth

665 178 Movement (BYM) has become a powerful force in Miaduguri where it elected both representatives in a direct election in 1956. This represented a serious blow to the traditional Kanuri ruling class, and is an indication of important changes in attitude toward traditional leadership in Kanuri culture. It is interesting to note that these changes have been occurring among the most acculturated segments of the population, in urban Maiduguri.

2. Education.

871 177 [872] Accompanying British rule, a general education system has been introduced in Bornu. Primary schools exist in all the larger towns, staffed by Kanuri teachers who speak English and have received some training as teachers. Of the school age 871 829 population only two to three per cent actually attend. Parents resist sending their children to the schools as they see little to be gained in school attendance, and the child, when sent to [792] school, is an economic loss to the family. They would rather send their children to Kanuri Malams, scholars of the Koran, where they are taught to pray, and to read the Koran by rote. If a child should show aptitude in such studies he would be encouraged to continue studying the Koran with important Malams. [554] Such study is considered more vital, more important, more prestigeful and ultimately more useful than study in the primary school.

871 Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent

Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent
871 compulsory, it is necessary at least for Village Heads and
555 District Heads to send their sons to school. In addition,
political advancement under the current system demands a cer-
[177] tain amount of education. Thus a paradox: it is necessary
[182] to accept certain non-Kanuri values, to be educated outside
of the traditional Kanuri system, in order to succeed in the
political system which has become incorporated as part of
463 Kanuri culture. Young men who are graduated from secondary
[874] school are trained as sanitation officers, agricultural as-
sistants, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, hides
[554] and skins inspectors, clerks, and school-teachers. They func-
tion as a professional class, and they are called 'Malam', an
extension of the title given to a learned man which formerly
[871] meant a scholar of the Koran. The presence in a town of vet-
[555] erinary Malams and dispensary Malams, often the sons of Vil-
lage Heads or District Heads, provides a slight incentive to
ordinary villagers to send their sons to school, since these
Malams are salaried employees of the Native Authority. Often
the Malams themselves go into politics and seek appointments
as Village Heads or District Heads, following their fathers.
Thus they return to traditional leadership in the Kanuri com-
munity.

3. Economy.

433 Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in Bornu
439 Province are economic--Bornu today is part of the world. The

433 economic situation in Bornu is determined to a large extent by
439 changes in the world market price of export items which are now
433 a vital part of the local economy. The Kanuri are an agricul-
241 tural people whose staple crop is millet. Along with millet,
the main crop is peanuts, grown for sale and ultimate export.
[243] Every farmer grows millet for his family. Should he have a
[438] surplus he sells it in the local markets. Most farmers also
244 [442] raise peanuts as well. The nuts are bought by local trading
[655] companies, acting as agents for the government controlled
[439] Groundnut Marketing Board which buys the entire crop and
433 sells it on the world market. Cow hides and sheep and goat
237 439 skins are also brought by the trading companies for export,
436 and represent an important part of the total economy. The West
African Pound is the basic currency unit and the shilling is
the unit of trade in the remotest sections of the province.
Maria Theresa dollars are still in evidence but are rarely used
as currency.

439 A network of European trading companies exists throughout
442 Northern Nigeria. Almost all of them have canteens run by
473 European agents scattered in larger towns throughout the region.
The largest of these is the United Africa Company, a subsidiary
of Unilever. Others, John Holt and Co., Société Commerciale du
Oest Afrique, Compagnie Française du Afrique Occidental, and A.
G. Leventis and Co., are multi-million-dollar companies with
[452] head offices in England or on the Continent. They all buy pea-
nuts, and hides and skins, and they buy through a complex system

439 of advancing credit to middlemen who do the actual buying of the
473 nuts and hides. The entire peanut crop of an area is bought al-
442 most before it is planted. Textiles, manufactured in Japan or
[182] India, are the main items imported into the region and bought by the Kanuri. Additional items imported in quantity are enamelware bowls and dishes, salt, sugar, perfume, and numerous small items of Western manufacture. For those who can afford them, the trading companies sell battery-powered radios, sewing machines, bicycles, etc.

438
439 Trade, both external and internal, is a vital part of
Kanuri economy. Traders are numerous and often very wealthy.
452 Money is lent at interest, though this is forbidden by the Koran.
437 Goods are advanced on credit by European traders, and by Kanuri
441 traders as well. A Kanuri trader who has credit with a trading
[183] company will take 500 pounds' worth of cotton cloth, promising
[443] to pay off the amount in a month. He distributes the goods to ten men who work for him, or, more properly, are attached to him. They each take 50 pounds' worth of cloth to small markets in the bush. There they try to sell the goods directly or they may give the goods on credit to a local merchant who sells them. Slowly the cash returns to the original middleman, and ultimately to the original trading company, which then permits the middleman to take another batch of goods on credit. Conversely, a trading company may advance 500 pounds in cash to a middleman who promises to bring, in one month's time, 500 pounds' worth of peanuts. He distributes the cash to his people who then

437 452 441 go out to the farmers with cash advances for their crops. The farmer sells his crop to the man who has advanced cash to him. The nuts go to the middleman, who then brings them in bulk to the company which gave him the large cash advance much earlier. Sometimes he is unable to get the nuts, either because it has been a bad season, or because other buyers have bought them. Too often the money which has been advanced to him is long since spent. Occasionally a man who has taken a cash advance from one company to buy nuts sells the nuts which he has bought to another company which is offering a higher price. He will then return his original cash advance to the first company with his regrets.

Thus the concepts of cash and credit have become working parts of Kanuri culture. Individuals borrow cash in many different sorts of situations. Actual cash for paying a bride-price, or for buying a bicycle, is much less important than having
[556] sources of credit from whom one can borrow. A man who is a shrewd trader can increase his wealth rapidly in present-day Bornu, and a wealthy class of traders exists today whose members were poor villagers a generation ago.

178 788 556 441 An interesting consequence of the growth of a wealthy trading class is that among the Kanuri the bulk of those who take
[554] the pilgrimage to Mecca comes from this class. For centuries the title of Alhaji, given to one who undertakes the pilgrimage, has been a sign of piety, of holiness and personal sacrifice. The trip to Mecca was a difficult and expensive one,

178 though there have always been people who walked or rode donkeys.
788 The modern pilgrimage is usually made by truck, or by chartered
556 plane from Maiduguri to Mecca. A wealthy man, and this usually
441 means someone engaged in trade, can travel to Mecca and back by
[509] plane for the sum of 120 pounds sterling.

4. The Social System.

177 Many of the political and economic changes brought about
178 by the increasing integration of Kanuri culture within the greater
orbit of Western culture have resulted in further internal
changes within Kanuri life. These are clearly manifested in
the shifting patterns of the social structure of modern Kanuri
175 society. At the time of the empire, before European contact,
565 the aristocracy was a clearly defined social class whose membership
exercised political power, controlled available sources
of wealth, and enjoyed the prestige deriving from nobility of
[554] family. These characteristics were unified and symbolized in a
title conferred upon a man by the Shehu and inherited in a general
565 sense, along with wealth and political office. Many of
178 these wealthy and powerful aristocratic families continue to
exist today; and most of the District Heads and other important
political figures are members of such families.

Although the controlling leadership of Kanuri society today can still be traced directly to the aristocracy of former times and still bears many of its characteristics, the system is no longer as stable and as self-perpetuating as it formerly

178 was. The changes noted above have made important inroads in
565 the social system. For many political appointments Western
[555] education has become a necessary requirement, and although many
[871] educated people still come from the aristocracy, commoners too
may become educated, may even excel in the schools and receive
jobs of political importance as a result of their scholastic ac-
[666] complishments. Along with modern education, election by direct
vote in the urban areas has allowed commoners to move directly
into politics, as members of the House of Assembly in Kaduna.
This has been of little significance until very recently, but
it represents a mechanism disruptive of the traditional social
system. Lastly, the newly risen wealthy class, of non-aristo-
cratic origin, has been able to take over, in some small measure,
characteristics of the aristocracy through the use of their
[556] wealth. Since they are able to afford to make the pilgrimage,
they benefit from the prestige accruing from being an Alhaji.
[662] They also benefit directly from giving money to political parties
and thereby gain political power.

178 The opening up of new avenues toward wealth, prestige, and
554
565 political power, the characteristics of the old aristocracy,
has resulted in an increasing number of individuals of commoner
family who have been able to achieve these goals. In recent
years such individuals have been rewarded by having important
[645] titles conferred on them by the Shehu. Members of the Shehu's
Council who did not come from aristocratic families have been
[431] granted noble titles. This process has been furthered by the

178 565 554 431 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

178 494 A number of material changes have been introduced which have also had important ramifications. The first of these is the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, carrying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities, fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a [653] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a 178 312 [653] Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the digging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a [361] function of available water, the digging of new wells has led to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriv- [563] [651] ing village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be 178 attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks, roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

178 of the Kanuri, and the advantages which they have brought are
readily understood. Other material changes--the postal system,
telegraphs, electricity in Maiduguri, and the Maiduguri air-
port--only affect a small part of the population in the cities,
and consequently are of minor importance.

654 178 Deliberate attempts have been made to institute changes
in certain areas of Kanuri culture, with varying degrees of
success. Agricultural programs have been introduced through
the Bornu Native Authority. Veterinary and Forestry Depart-
[743] ments also exist. Dispensaries run by Kanuri Malams exist in
the larger towns. There is a hospital in Maiduguri staffed by
[757] two European doctors. The Kanuri prefer their own form of treat-
ment and rarely go to the dispensaries or to the hospital when
ill. Nor do the Kanuri dispensars themselves have much faith
in the medications which they distribute.

E. The Dynamics of Acculturation

101 The town of Geidam, in which the present study was carried
[563] out, is in the northern part of Bornu, among a Kanuri sub-group
131 known as the Manga. Geidam is twenty-five miles south of Ni-
geria's northern boundary, a remote and somewhat isolated town
134 in one of the least developed provinces of Northern Nigeria. It
is a town of mud surrounded by a world of sand, and the presence
of the desert to the north is felt everywhere, in the land and
in the people.

177 Though Kanuri culture is still an integrated and function-
121 ing whole, the influence of the Industrial West is bringing about

177 121 significant changes. Remote as Geidam is, it is bound with ever increasing ties to the larger world. While Geidam is in a sense the center of its own small world, it is at the same time a minute part of an immense and continually expanding economic and political system.

This study focuses on changing Kanuri culture, on the process of acculturation. An acculturation study must begin with changes in the behavior of individuals. Yet the concept of culture comprises more than the behavior of individuals. It is concerned with behavior which characterizes a social whole, or segments of a society. When changes in the behavior of individuals are incorporated by the groups to which they belong, acculturation is occurring.

If one views acculturation in this way, it is clear that not all members of a society will show initial changes in cultural behavior, nor will changes occur at the same rate for all members. It is postulated here that one of the critical determinants of rate and type of acculturation in an individual's behavior is that individual's position in the community social structure. Because of their position in the society, certain individuals are in better positions than others to learn new things, to change in their thinking, their aspirations and their overt behavior. The rate of these changes and the particular areas of thinking and behaving which undergo change are considered as dependent upon the position of the individual in his society.

121 621 The anthropological concept of the community is used to define a micro-society. The community of the present study is an urban town, and its people belong to a variety of sub-groups. The townspeople of Geidam are members of occupational groups, social classes, ethnic sub-groups, common interest groups, neighborhoods, and friendship groups. They may be members of many such groups, which may overlap, but they all share one characteristic--they are all Geidamites, part of an interacting community. The various interlocking social groups of the town make up its social structure.

121 177 In terms of the particular field situation, the general acculturation problem presented above becomes: In what ways does the process of acculturation differ among members of differing groups in the urban community of Geidam? Two related additional problems emerge from the general one. The original problem focuses attention on the manner in which social structure guides and directs acculturation. A necessary consequence is that the social structure itself is undergoing change. The second problem is: what are the changes in social structure brought about by contact? Lastly, a third and oft-neglected problem concerns the mechanisms whereby changes are controlled and kept within acceptable cultural limits so that the emergent social structure retains its integration. Generally, this falls within the area of social control, though it is not usually seen in this light.

121 Before the research itself can be presented, however, much

121 additional information will have to be provided. Information on current changes in Kanuri culture can only be understood against a background which provides the norms of Kanuri culture. The particular measures of acculturation which were used in the present study can only be assessed when viewed against the overall picture of Kanuri culture.

Similarly, individuals who were chosen for study are members of community groups. The significance of such group membership can only be fully understood when the functioning of these groups is described in relation to other community groups, when something of the interaction between members of different groups is described so that the operation of community social structure becomes generally apparent.

Though the present study deals with a particular theoretical problem, it is nevertheless conceived of as a community study because it uses the community as the unit of study. However, the community will not be the means for providing a total ethnography of the Kanuri people. It is viewed here as a structured micro-society, within which the process of acculturation can be differentiated and studied. Through the concept of social structure, one can describe completely the activities of all of the various groups in the community. If one continues this process in detail, all the standard ethnographic categories, religion, economy, political organization, etc., will ultimately be fully described. This will not be attempted here. Rather, the general description of Geidam town will serve as a back-

121 ground for the activities of groups making up the social structure, so that the social structure of the community can be seen in its larger cultural context.

121 128 In the section immediately following, an overall picture of Kanuri culture will be presented, stressing the general features of Kanuri social organization. This will be followed by a section on the community of Geidam.

Lastly, the problem which was studied will be presented. This final section will include the theoretical orientation of the study, the manner in which the data were collected, the data on acculturation with their analysis, and the implications of the findings in relation to existing theory.

[p.30-A]

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Chapter II

General Features of Kanuri Culture

121 The variables which provide the conceptual basis of the present study are social structure and acculturation. Before one can single out individual groups and focus attention on behavioral patterns which are associated with those groups it is necessary to delineate the larger structural features of Kanuri society so that the particular groups which have been selected for more careful examination can be seen in their societal context. In similar fashion, acculturated behavior can only be evaluated when one has a general understanding of the more stable behavioral norms which characterize Kanuri culture. It is against the background of the expectable Kanuri behavioral patterns that items of acculturated behavior takes on significance.

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178 It was noted in the previous chapter that important external forces are acting to bring about changes in Kanuri culture. While these are powerful forces, and the changes themselves are far-reaching and significant, Kanuri culture still retains its essential integration. This can be seen in several areas: in the consistency of people's behavior, in the stress placed on important Kanuri values, and in the integration of Kanuri personality which is apparent despite acculturation. The present chapter is devoted to the presentation of these general features of Kanuri culture.

A. Larger Features of the Economy

1. Ecology, Settlement Patterns and Land Tenure.

161 There are strong indications that the population of Bornu

161 has been declining in the present century. The Kanuri Empire
[175] had suffered final defeat at the hands of Rabeh's invading
forces in 1890, and the countryside had been ravaged in the
[164] succeeding decade. Venereal disease appears to have spread
[842] widely throughout the population leaving in its wake a marked
decline in fertility and a resultant decrease in numbers of
311 the Kanuri population. There is consequently little pressure
[137] for land to farm. Large stretches of brush country are unworked, and the denser sections, along old water-courses, are
136 veritable jungles of brush and thorn. Larger wild-life have
long since disappeared from Bornu, forced out by many centuries
of human occupation, but some of the denser section of thicket
might well support them today. A small herd of elephants is
reported around Gumsa, in Geidam District, and of course elephants can be found in the extensive marshes along Lake Chad,
but by and large the only game one sees are gazelle, monkeys,
and birds, including occasional ostriches.

361 The Kanuri are a sedentary, agricultural people, who live
in villages and towns. The fields which they farm encircle
their villages. They are never found living in dispersed homesteads.
369 A basic division exists between Kanuri village life
and Kanuri life in the towns and cities. This division corresponds to the classic distinctions between folk and urban polar
extremes. Urban life was present in pre-contact Kanuri culture
[162] and consequently is well integrated into Kanuri culture. In
fact, the Kanuri cities of the eighteenth century were unques-

369 tionably larger than anything found in Bornu today. However,
162 as in all pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture and lives in the many small villages dotting the plain.

361 One can never travel far in Bornu without encountering a
[491] village. Major villages are linked to one another and to towns
[487] by laterite roads. Tiny villages are linked by a network of paths and tracks to one another. Surrounding each village
423 are the fields farmed by each family. Farm land can be had
425 by clearing the brush and making a plot ready for farming.
241 Since this is so easily done, land and its inheritance are not important determinants of the social structure. In theory,
[776] all land belongs to Allah and is in the hands of the Shehu of
[643] Bornu, the political and religious head of all Kanuri. The Shehu distributed large fiefs to Kanuri lords who gave the land to the village heads for distribution to individual villagers. In practice, any newcomer to a village has only to ask the village head for permission to farm and suitable land will be given to him which he must, of course, clear for planting. It naturally happens that those most recently arrived in a village will be given fields furthest from the houses, so that it is obvious that certain fields are more desirable than others. In a town of some size this becomes important. Distant fields may be up to three miles beyond the edge of town, and walking out and back each day to plant or to harvest is a demanding task.
241 425 [178] Farm land, however, is never bought and sold. In the city this

425 practice is undergoing change. House plots in desirable locations
241 in Maiduguri, the capital city, are bought and sold,
178 though in theory land for one's house is obtained in the same
manner as farm land--by asking the village head for a site to
build one's house.

2. Subsistence Economy and Cash Crops.

243 Millet is the staple crop of the Kanuri, and both sorghum
(Sorghum vulgare) and pearl millet (Pennisetum spicatum) are
243 221 grown. Planting takes place immediately after the first rains
in May and the grain is harvested in September. The growing
season is short as rain falls only in the months between May
and September and not at all for the remainder of the year.
Consequently there is only one crop during the year. Since
millet grows without much attention, agricultural labor is
[462] needed only during planting, weeding, and harvesting. Men and
women work together in the fields during these periods. Crops
must be sown shortly after the onset of the rains for the growing
time is relatively short and any delay in planting might
reduce the exposure to rainfall which is necessary for a good
harvest. Late planting in a year in which the total rainfall
[731] is slight can be disastrous for a family. Really bad years can
mean famine, and though there has not been a major famine since
World War I, that famine is remembered as a catastrophe. Older
people calculate their age in relation to the year of the famine.
In the villages millet which a family harvests in Septem-

243 ber is expected to last them for an entire year, and the months
221 of April, May and June are generally the hungry months, when
the millet supplies begin to diminish.

244 Additional crops of some importance are varieties of beans,
243
312 okra, rice, melons, squash, tomatoes, cucumbers and onions.
These are frequently grown as garden crops, near places where
there is a permanent water supply. They can then be watered by
hand, or through the use of shadoofs to raise water from rivers
to the higher banks.

244 Groundnuts are the primary cash crop of Northern Nigeria,
and the Kanuri plant large quantities. Almost all Kanuri families, even those in the larger towns plant a crop of millet;
in the villages, almost all plant a second crop of groundnuts
492 as well. These are bought by agents of the larger trading com-
439 panies for cash, and eventually are sold to the Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board through which they are released onto the
433 world market. Millet is the basic subsistence crop of the Ka-
434 nuri, while groundnuts are the primary source of cash for the
Kanuri villager.

433 The Kanuri do not rely exclusively on agriculture. They
233 keep sheep and goats in their villages, which young boys take
out beyond the fields to graze in the mornings, returning in
the evening. Cows are kept, and fed by the same means, but
433 these are few in numbers. Certain Kanuri sub-groups, the Kwoyam
233
563 and the Buduwai, depend largely on cattle which they keep in

433 great numbers. Buduwai farm and keep large herds of sheep,
233 563 goats and cows in the brush countryside surrounding their villages.
563 The Kwoyam are a nomadic herding people who keep only
233 cows. Culturally they are very close to the Kanuri; their
economy, however, is quite different. They live in a close
relationship with the settled agricultural Kanuri whom they
[437] otherwise resemble greatly. Pastoral Fulani and Shuwa Arabs,
on the other hand, have very little in common with the kanuri
agriculturalists, yet, like the Kwoyam, they live in symbiotic
interdependence with the agricultural Kanuri. The Fulani of
Bornu are semi-nomadic pastoralists who are the most northeasterly
extension of far-flung Fulani culture. The Shuwa
are an Arabic speaking people related to other such peoples
extending eastward to the Sudan. Fulani and Shuwa keep different
breeds of cattle and subsist almost entirely on milk
[438] and milk products. They have very similar relations to the
sedentary Kanuri with whom they exchange dairy products for
439 grain and for the goods produced by Kanuri craftsmen. Because
237 433 of the large numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats found
in Bornu Province, hides, sheep skins and goat skins are an
[442] important product for export. These are sold for cash to
Kanuri middlemen and are exported by the trading companies.
[434] They are another important source of revenue for the Kanuri.

000 Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops

Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops
137 are made, is collected from the kolkol tree (Acacia arabica).
222 The trees grow wild, and are fairly common in the area of Geidam. The villagers collect the solidified resin and sell the
[434] gum arabic to the companies. This is a secondary source of cash, and the distribution of the trees is fairly limited.

[262] Some species of plants are gathered for food. The leaves of the kuka tree are the most important, and are commonly used
224 in food preparation. Hunting is of minor importance. Full-time hunters are almost never found. In the larger villages and towns organized hunts are carried out by the young men. In such cases the game, typically gazelle and guinea fowl, are
226 surrounded and brought down by thrown sticks. Fishing is carried out in the rivers and in Lake Chad. Fish are caught by a variety of means--they are trapped in large woven traps, netted, and hooked, and in Lake Chad larger species are harpooned.
[262] Fish are an important food source for communities on the shores
[184] of rivers and lakes, but are not generally important for the Kanuri as a whole.

438 Trade always has played an important part in the Kanuri
443 economy, and this would naturally follow in a society where
[433]
[369] rural-urban distinctions are centuries old. The kasugu, or
[366] market, is a central part of every Kanuri town. The Kanuri market is primarily and almost exclusively a local market, where village farmers can sell agricultural produce and buy the products made by artisans of the town. In addition, limited regional exchange is effected through the market. External

External
443 trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European
438 366 manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every
[439] sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily
markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days,
forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itin-
erant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next
with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name
of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." Peo-
[484] [369] ple from small surrounding villages without markets will come
into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot,
and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a
donkey or a horse.

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

175 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the
643 last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali
Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Moham-
mad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder
[178] of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty
which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end,
the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially
the same.

[192] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu
from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu,
from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

El Kanemi brought
175 643 565 177 with him a group of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, who formed the nucleus, along with their men, of the army which drove back the Fulani invaders of Bornu. These noble Kanembu families remained in Bornu and adopted Kanuri culture. El Kanemi built the new capital of Bornu at Kukawa, and his son Shehu Omar 175 178 565 ruled from Kukawa. The empire of Bornu had declined greatly from its zenith in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the Fulani attacks were both a sign of its weakness and an additional factor in furthering the decline. In form, however, the empire remained much the same. Many of the old families who had been aristocrats under the Mais retained 175 177 565 their titles, their lands and their position. The new noble Kanembu and Shuwa families that had followed el Kanemi were given Kanuri titles and entered the social system as Kanuri aristocracy. In time, they accepted Kanuri culture, according to accepted procedures of assimilation which are well understood by the Kanuri and apply to conquerors and conquered alike, to slaves and to freemen.

175 644 565 631 423 [651] The Shehu and his court ruled in Kukawa. Members of the royal family were given large tracts of land, including many villages, and from their lands they took money for taxes paid to the central government and for their own uses. In like fashion, the nobility, who were the commanders of army regiments and holders of high titles, had their lands and villages. These were the chimas. Even religious leaders, such as the Imam, were 175 565 631 given land. The nobles who were chimas, continued to live in

175 Kukawa while their slaves and subordinates administered their
565 631 lands and collected taxes. Slaves of the Shehu could them-
[567] selves be chimas, and in fact some of the highest titles--
[554] those of Kaigama (a general of the army), and Mastrema (a
eunuch) were reserved for slaves of the Shehu.

175 The "knights" of the Shehu were titled lords, who served
631 as his kabuna. Each lord also had his own kabuna, who vowed
565 567 allegiance directly to him. The kabuna of the lord actually
administered his lands while he lived in the capital. Many of
them were his slaves, but just as slaves of the Shehu could
themselves be powerful nobles, so too slaves of a lord who
were his kabuna were powerful individuals in the villages under
[632] the jurisdiction of their lord. From his kabuna the lord se-
[622] lected the most trustworthy and rewarded them by having them
appointed town heads (Lowan), or to a lesser extent village
heads (Bulama). The Lowan of a town was directly involved in
administering his town, in adjudicating disputes through arbi-
tration and in collecting the property tax (haraji).

634 173 It was said that the chima was almost the absolute author-
642 ity in his lands. If he saw a horse that he wished to have or
a woman whom he admired, he could have them simply by indicat-
ing that he wanted to possess them. No man would refuse him
[643] directly. However, if reports came to the Shehu that a chima
was acting irresponsibly the Shehu could reprimand the man,
175 and could even remove his title from him. Any man could ap-
643 642 peal directly to the Shehu for justice. The power of the Shehu

175 643 642 was indeed absolute. Only the advice of his Imam or of his Koranic Malams might sway or alter his decisions, but this was no more than advice. It might be pointed out to him that a particular course of action was counter to the writings of the Koran, and he might ignore the advice at his peril, but the ultimate decision was his.

2. The Political Organization of the Empire in the Twentieth Century.

175 648 642 178 In 1893 the empire of Bornu suffered what seemed to be the final blow. An army under the leadership of Rabeh, a follower and foster son of Zubeir Pasha of the Sudan, defeated the army of the Shehu of Bornu, overran the empire, and for seven years subjected it to their plunder. In 1900 the French captured and killed Rabeh. Two years later the British entered Bornu. Their first act was to restore the line of the Shehus to the throne. Thus, the empire of Bornu was perpetuated by the colonial powers, though itself unable to resist attack successfully. Restoration by the British brought about a continuation and revival of the old political organization which persists into the present. Through this structure, with some additions and modifications, the British ruled for 58 years in Bornu.

175 648 634 178 From the point of view of the Kanuri villager, the political system under the British was hardly different from that under which his father had lived before the coming of Rabeh. The British did away with the chimas, replacing them with District

175 Heads or *Ajias*. The only important difference between the two,
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648 from the point of view of the Kanuri farmer, is that the Ajia
634 lived in the capital of his District, while the chima lived in
[642] Kukawa. There were, in fact, great differences between the two, because the British Resident ultimately controlled all policy decisions at the upper levels. But the Kanuri villager knew little of this. It is striking to note how many of the District Heads in 1956-1957 were the heads of the same noble families from which the chimas of the last century were chosen. The British, with or without knowing it, had kept the aristocratic families in positions of political power, at the same time preserving the old political structure of the empire.

175 The Ajias, in their turn, have kept their own kabuna to
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632 help them in administering their districts. From their kabuna they have selected the most trusted to serve as Lowans. Since many of the Ajias came from the nobility, they had many slaves whom they inherited from their fathers. These were frequently their most trusted kabuna, though not all kabuna are slaves. Many of the Ajias are slaves of the Shehu, and many of the Low-
[692] ans are slaves of the Ajias. Ajia and Lowan alike settle dis-
[651] putes, and collect taxes, their two most important functions.

C. *Religion*

779 The Kanuri are Moslems. Islam entered Bornu in the elev-
[175] enth century, and since that time has spread throughout the entire Kanuri population. Unlike the Hausa, where a large part

779 of the population is pagan (Maguzawa), there are no pagan
177 Kanuri. Among the tribes who are influenced by and are ac-
779 culturating to the Kanuri, the Bede, the Babur, and the Marghi, both pagans and Moslems can be found.

795 According to Trimingham[1], many pagans in the Western Sudan become Moslems by slipping into Islam, calling themselves "Mohammad", and imitating their fellows without special ceremoney. A rite is performed in the case of chiefs and important men, where public recognition is sought. This is undoubtedly the case for those part-Moslem, part-pagan peoples surrounding the Kanuri, and was also probably true in former centuries when the Kanuri themselves adopted Islam.

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779 Today Islam is well integrated into Kanuri culture. Without entering into a detailed discussion of Islam as practiced by the Kanuri, those general areas which are most affected by Islam will be discussed here. These include: law, education and social organization. To begin with, however, it is necessary to discuss the general features of Islamic worship as exemplified by the Pillars of Islam.

1. The Pillars of Islam.

782 The Pillars of Islam are five in number. The first of these is the confession of faith (shahada) which those who

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[1] J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), see Appendix I "Ceremony of Joining Islam", p. 226.

782 embrace Islam pronounce.

The second is ritual prayer. Ritual prayer (*Sallah*) occurs five times each day at the following times:

Sua (Ar. Asuba)	5 AM (time of arising)
Duar (Ar. Azahar)	2 PM
Asar (Ar. al-Asar)	4 PM
Magəribu (Ar. Magriba)	6:30-7 PM (sunset)
Lasha (Lishai)	10 PM (bedtime)

Generally this observance is strictly followed by all Kanuri. Prayer is an individual matter, and can take place wherever the individual happens to be. The Friday afternoon prayer tends to be communal in character, and people go to mosques to pray. Everyday prayers are not customarily carried out in the
793 mosque. The religious hierarchy is only peripherally involved in the ritual prayer. The *Ladan* announces the times for prayer by public calling; the Imam (*Liman*) leads prayers in the mosque on Fridays and on religious holidays.

785 The third Pillar is fasting. During the lunar month of Ramadan all adult Kanuri fast from sunrise to sunset. This is rigidly observed by all, and it would be exceedingly shameful to be seen breaking the fast. The first sighting of the new moon is announced by the Shehu and the news rapidly spreads throughout Bornu that the month of Ramadan has come to an end. The end of fasting is marked by widespread festivities.

782 The fourth Pillar is the giving of alms. There are two types of alms in Islam: the *zakat* or tithe which all Moslems are expected to give to support the church, and *sadaka*, or vol-

782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[793] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
[792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[275] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[777] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

796 ceremony. Naming of children, circumcision, marriage and burial all have a religious aspect, though of course the nature of the ceremony is strongly Kanuri in character, and differs from the same ceremony as practiced by Moslems generally or from that ceremony as practiced by other nearby African Moslems. Similarly, the ceremonial holidays in the yearly cycle follow the Moslem calendar. Days of celebration include: the new year, the prophet's birthday, the sacrifice of the ram, and of course the month of Ramadan.

2. Islamic Law.

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577 Several aspects of Kanuri culture are most profoundly affected by Islam, and will here be given more extended discussion. Law is perhaps the foremost of these. Acceptance of Islam means the acceptance of Islamic law. This involves two broad areas: one's conduct in everyday life, and formal, written law which is a part of political organization. With respect to the first, the Kanuri view of the "good man" is synonymous with being a good Moslem. In one's every-day conduct one should be properly humble and respectful of superiors, and false pride (*ro kura*) is considered a despicable trait. One should be devout not only in performing ritual acts, such as prayer, but in one's thoughts. It is commendable for a man to awake early in the morning, long before the time one begins the day's work, for contemplation and the counting of prayer beads (*tajimi*).
[692] Disputes are taken to the Lowan and to the Ajia for arbitration,

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692 and here the spirit of the Koran is the guide to proper behavior.

[171] In the area of formal law, the Kanuri follow the same legal school prevalent throughout the Western Sudan--the Maliki legal school. Maliki law covers criminal law, rules of evidence, procedure, sentencing, property rights, contracts between individuals, law of marriage and divorce, inheritance and numerous other areas. Formal courts exist in Bornu, presided over by Kanuri Alkalis, or judges. [693] The Alkali begins his training, like so many Kanuri boys, by study of the Koran with a Malam. He completes his training, at present, in the Legal School at Kano. Islamic law in Northern Nigeria falls within the general area of "Native Law and Custom."

3. Education.

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779 Education, as the Kanuri understand it, means studying the Koran. From about the age of six, both boys and girls are [563] sent to a Malam to learn to pray. Every village has someone who can perform this minimum function, but only the towns have [562] Malams. It is sufficient for a girl to memorize the prayers, [565] and most boys proceed no further. However, parents who have greater aspirations for their sons, generally sons from upper class homes, will send their sons to live in the house of a Malam and study with him. Occasionally boys who show aptitude in their studies will be sent on to a more important Malam to
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779 continue their studies. Under the tutelage of the Malam, the

876 pupils learn to recite suras (chapters) of the Koran by rote.
779 If they should proceed to higher studies they learn to write
875 in Arabic script. Anyone who can recite the Koran and can
write Arabic characters is qualified to be a Malam[1]. Prom-
[555] inent Malams may be appointed Imams and Alkalis. However, to
reach such heights requires years of study of Koranic texts,
ritual and of law.

[554] The title of "Malam" signifies respect for the learning
achieved by that individual. A Malam who teaches pupils, how-
[431] ever, is not recompensed by direct payment. Rather, his pupils
[735] bring gifts to him, and his pupils beg for him. The giving of
sadaka noted above takes the form of gifts given directly to
the Malam on ceremonial occasions, and gifts given to his pupils
[577] who beg in his name. Many adult Kanuri men of wealth and so-
[554] cial importance stress piety and continue their Koranic studies.

871 The identification of learning and education with the study
779 of Koran tends to inhibit the growth and expansion of secular
177 education on a Western model, since Kanuri parents see the
554 schools as conflicting with the Koranic Malam, and since study
of the Koran earns such high prestige (though little remuneration).

4. Social Organization.

779 Islam places particular emphasis on the nuclear family. As
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[1] Trimingham, ibid., p. 81.

779 Trimingham says, "...Islamic law recognizes only the simple
593 matrimonial family of man, wife or wives, slaves, and their children,
and the Malikite system gives absolute authority to the
husband as its head."[1] The Kanuri exemplify this aspect of Islam.
779 The polygamous family is the sole kin unit of any significance.
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779 Islam further dictates that a man may have no more than
595 four wives, though he may have any number of concubines. A
567 comcubine (chir) is a slave taken by her master as a spouse.
[554] Slaves have long existed as a stratum of Kanuri society, but
only members of the Kanuri aristocracy have concubines. The
status of the concubine is recognized by Islamic law.

779 With respect to marriage and the family, Islam permits or
582 specifically prohibits a number of practices which, when taken
together, exert a profound influence on social organization.
Cousin marriage with both cross and parallel cousins, is permitted
779 under Islamic law. Sadak, strictly defined, is the Islamic
58 marriage payment by the husband to the wife. It is her
property, and is conceived of as payment for her virginity.
Though not entirely equivalent to a bride-price, sadak becomes
part of the bride-price. As indicated above, virginity at the
[593] time of a girl's first marriage is strongly stressed. Seclusion
of wives (kulle) is valued. The wali (Kanuri luwali) who
represents the fathers of both parties at the signing of the

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 126.

779 58 [593] marriage contract, is a common Islamic feature. Sexual rights of the husband, as well as his responsibilities for the support of his wife, are supported by Islamic law. Lastly, Islam does not necessarily recognize marriage as a permanent arrangement; [182] consequently divorce is simple and commonly resorted to. All of these practices, commonly associated with Islamic societies, are characteristic of Kanuri society and are well integrated in Kanuri custom concerning marriage and the family.

D. The Community

162 [161] The population of Bornu Emirate is just over a million people. About one-third live in towns with a population of more than 7,000 (see Table I). Following Maiduguri, the capital, which has a total population of 83,327 including the outlying villages, but only 56,777 in the town proper, there are ten towns with populations exceeding 10,000. The average size of these ten towns is 13,879. There are 16 more towns in Bornu Emirate with populations of between 7,000 and 10,000. These 26 towns, plus Maiduguri proper, account for 325,640 people, almost a third of the population.

369 632 121 Although there may be some question whether a town with a population of 10,000 may properly be called "urban," it is clear that on the folk-urban continuum, such towns are distinctly approaching the urban pole[1]. These towns have few or none of the

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[1] If Miner can call Timbuktu, with its population of 6,500, a "primitive city," then these are certainly towns, or "urban centers." see Horace Miner, The Primitive City of Timbuktu (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52]

Table 1

162 The population of Bornu Emirate, according to towns ranked as to size.

Town	District	population
Maiduguri proper		56,777
Nguru proper	Nguru	21,796
Kumagunnam	Nguru	18,034
Digago	Kanembu	15,435
Jajere	Fune	13,798
Titiwa	Magumeri	12,377
Chibuk	Marghi	12,139
Chobal	Auno	12,121
Ngetra	Gubio	11,930
Geidam	Geidam	11,032
Goniri	Gujba	10,124
	Total	138,786
Kabuiri	Konduga	9,736
Bilaljawa	Yusufari	9,649
Masuba	Auno	9,270
Koriyel	Damaturu	8,838
Bornu Yassu	Magumeri	8,639
Masho	Fune	8,587
Matsena	Matsena	8,283
Dankalwa	Kaga	7,980
Yajiwa	Auno	7,903
Maimalari	Yusufari	7,722
Daura	Fune	7,673
Goyamari	Yusufari	7,263
Wadi	Geidam	7,225
Gazabure	Gubio	7,212
Gatafo	Mobber	7,063
Mintar	Monguno	7,034
	Total	130,077
Total for 27 towns above:		325,640

369 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists
632 121 of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at
the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less
[622] than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the
smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village.
[463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and
depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors.
[622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village.
He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger,
[565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may
be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several
sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are
[595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and
[592] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and
342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (*səgdi*). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

342 This is one of two house types which the Kanuri build, and is
predominant in the villages. There are several variants of this
house type. The walls may be of mud bricks, or they may be of
363 woven mats. The first is of course more permanent. Paths sep-
arate groups of compounds, and larger streets divide the vil-
lage. Trees are allowed to grow within the village to provide
361 shade, but other vegetation is removed. Since Bornu is a flat
plain, the huts of the small villages, amid the shade trees,
jut out from the surrounding cleared landscape in dry season
and are visible from a distance.

632 The towns are market centers, and frequently also admin-
[366] istrative centers. Towns of some size are divided into wards,
and each ward will have its own Lowan. The wards (nguro) are
632 in turn made up of compounds. In the towns, stratification in
565 the social structure is pronounced and wealth differences be-
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342 tween heads of families may be great. This is reflected in size
of compound and in house type. While the house type and com-
pound of the poor commoner (talaka) in the town may be identical
with that of the typical villager (compound walls made of sagdis
enclosing a plot on which is built a single round-walled,
thatched hut), the compounds of wealthy and important men are
enclosed in walls of mud bricks some ten feet high, and the
single entrance (chinna) may be framed in an impressive arch-
way. The area of the compounds of important men may be several
thousand square yards, and there may be upwards of twenty houses
within. The predominant house type of the wealthy man in the

632 565 town is a square flat-roofed house built entirely of mud bricks,
342 556 with an adobe veneer and turreted roof decoration.

361 Blocks of contiguous compounds, with their entrance-ways
facing out onto the streets, make up clusters which are sim-
[363] ilar to a city block. Streets are laid out on a grid pattern,
[492] some narrow and others wide thoroughfares. There is little
vehicular traffic, but there is a fair amount of traffic made
up of camels and donkeys used as pack animals, and men on horses.

632 Wards may have different characters, especially in large
[563] towns with non-Kanuri populations, where different ethnic groups
will all cluster in one ward. Wards are also often sub-divided
[463] into neighborhoods. These take their character from a partic-
ular type of craft localized in a neighborhood, or a single
group of tradesmen dealing in the same commodity whose com-
pounds are found located in one neighborhood.

632 361 Every Kanuri town is built around a central plaza called
the dandal. The dandal is a cleared area running east to west,
faced with compounds and various public buildings on its north
and south sides. The western border is frequently open. At
the eastern end, with the dandal stretching out before it, is
the entranceway to the compound of the Lowan or Ajia, the focal
point of a Kanuri town. The entranceway of the Lowan or Ajia's
[614] compound always faces west, into the setting sun. The palace of
the Shehu in Maiduguri (the Shehuri) fronts on the great dandal;
at its far end is one of the gates of the city.

000 Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and

Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and
632 the central mosque. The market-place is of course the center
366 368 for all local trade, and on the particular market day of a
town, activities center in the market, which is alive with people. On Friday, the central mosque, where people gather to pray, becomes the communal center. Throughout the week the compound of the Ajia (the Ajari), should the town be the administrative center of a district, is the focus of bureaucratic activity. In addition, activity centers around other public buildings: the court, the school, the dispensary, the public reading room, etc.

369 632 The three foci of the Kanuri town indicated above, the
463 Ajari, the market-place, and the mosque, are of themselves strong arguments for the urban nature of the Kanuri town. Each is typically the center of an urban activity and urban occupations. The Ajia has, under him, a range of bureaucratic specialists: the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, the Department of Police, the school-teachers and dispenser. The mosque is representative of the various religious specialists: the Imam, and the many malams of the town. The market-place typifies commercial activity, which more than anything else is characteristic of urban life, with its various specialists in trade and in crafts.

E. Social Organization

611 Unlike the majority of African societies, the Kanuri do
171 182 not have unilineal descent. As Meyer Fortes notes, "The more

611 171 182 centralized the political system the greater the tendency seems to be for the corporate strength of descent groups to be reduced or for such corporate groups to be non-existent."[1] This is particularly apt in describing the Kanuri. Fortes states that the Nupe, the Zulu and the Hausa exemplify this. Culturally, the Kanuri share a good deal with both the Nupe and the Hausa, who are also Sudanic state-societies influenced by Islam, and this similarity extends to their social organization as well. In fact, the Kanuri represent the most extreme development of these features, for whereas among both the Nupe and the Hausa patrilineal lineages and sibs are reported the Kanuri are clearly bilateral in descent, and do not have corporate kin groups at all.

594 595 000 The most important social unit determined by kinship is the nuclear or the polygamous family. Consequently, this section will be concerned with a discussion of marriage, residence, the family and the household. Other aspects of social organization which are not based on kinship, such as the class structure, will be discussed separately.

1. Marriage.

586 587 It may seem curious to begin a section on marriage with a statement about divorce; nevertheless it is important to note at the start that the Kanuri divorce frequently, commonly, and

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[1] Meyer Fortes, "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, 55, No. 1 (1953), p. 26.

586 587 with ease. Since most men marry a number of times in the course of a normal life, they are likely to marry women who have been married previously and whose earlier marriage (or marriages) has ended in divorce. An important distinction is made between a marriage with a girl who has never been married before, and marriages with women who have been married previously.

585 302 a) Marriage with a virgin. The adult Kanuri woman wears her hair in a striking coiffure which resembles a Trojan helmet. Adolescent girls who have not yet married wear their hair in totally different fashion. Their hair-do is divided into three parts, and they are referred to as *kalə yaskə*, a term for their particular developmental stage which derives from the hair-do that characterizes the stage. Since very high priority is placed on virginity for a girl before marriage, a first marriage with a kalə yaskə is equivalent to marriage with a virgin.

584 Marriages are frequently arranged, but consent of both boy and girl plays a part, even in marriages in which the boy is marrying for the first time and the girl is a kalə yaskə. A boy may come to his father to say that he likes a particular girl. It frequently happens then that the boy's father will go to the house of the father of the girl, bringing presents with him, to arrange the marriage. The father of the boy may also select a particular girl as wife for his son, ask the boy if he likes the girl, then make the arrangements with the father of the
[565] girl. A talaka may marry the daughter of a very good family, if he can raise the money needed for her bride-price. The sole

584 obstacle to such a marriage is the bride-price, which will be
565 high for a daughter of a good family. The father of a boy of
good family, conversely, may arrange to have his son marry the
daughter of a talaka if he likes the girl, particularly if she
is very pretty. A talaka will not usually arrange for the marriage
of his son with the daughter of a very rich man (a wealthy
trader, for example), because the girl will eventually inherit
wealth and her husband will have no claim to it, nor will the
584 boy's father ever see any of it. However, a talaka father may
565 arrange for his son to marry the daughter of a kəntuoma (aris-
557 tocrat) family in order for his son to benefit from his future
father-in-law's influence in obtaining power, though the boy's
own father will not himself directly benefit from the marriage.

581 The qualities desired in a kalə yaskə spouse are as follows: a pretty girl is highly desirable in marriage; a girl with a nasty temper, one who curses people or has other undesirable personality characteristics (such as shamelessness--nungu ba) will not find a husband so easily. A pretty girl is better than a wealthy one, but better still is industriousness and willingness to work hard. Being able to cook well is also more important than beauty. If the father of a boy has two girls to choose from as brides for his son, one pretty and the other industrious and skillful, he will prefer the industrious
584 one for his son. If a girl does not like the boy suggested for
her by her father, if she thinks him ugly, the marriage will not
take place. The father of the girl will ask her if she likes the

584 boy; if she does not and refuses to marry him, the arrangements are for naught. The father cannot force the marriage, and marriages arranged solely by parents over the objection of the children, cannot take place.

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369 Average age at which boys marry differs from the small villages to the larger towns. In the small villages boys marry young, and when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen all are married. In the large towns and cities, boys marry after age twenty, and some do not marry until they reach thirty. Girls marry at the same age in the villages and in the cities.
582 If the girl's family is able to provide her with household equipment and clothing, she will marry at the age of eleven or twelve. If the family is poor she will marry slightly later, at the age of thirteen or fourteen. The minimum age of marriage for a girl is ten. A marriage at that age is possible, but the girl is con-
[833]sidered young. A husband usually waits before beginning to have sexual intercourse with a bride of such tender years. A boy
[591] may marry at the very young age of twelve or thirteen. If his father wishes to arrange such a marriage, he will build his son a house adjacent to his own, and husband and wife will grow up together. A boy will postpone marriage in order to accumulate money for a bride-price. If the father of a boy has no money to pay the bride-price for his son, the boy will postpone marriage for several years while father and son farm and save money. A girl never postpones marriage; by the age of fifteen almost all girls are married.

583 Marriage is effected through the payment of a bride-price, the *luwaliram*, before the marriage proper. There can be no marriage without payment of the luwaliram. The luwaliram is conceived of as money for buying a wife. One informant stated, "It is just like buying a ram. Your children are the profit
[851] (*riba*) of your investment." It follows, of course, that among
[436] the Kanuri, children belong to the father. At present, the luwaliram is always paid in hard currency--pounds and shillings, though in former times it was paid in Maria Theresa dollars (*gursus*) which served as currency in the area.

The amount of the luwaliram varies with a number of factors. Luwaliram varies with social class, with urban and rural differences, and with the qualities of the bride-to-be. For common folk (talaka), it may run to five or six pounds. In the smaller, isolated villages it runs higher, occasionally over ten pounds. A Lowan may pay as much as ten to twenty pounds for his son's bride; very poor folk in the towns may pay as little as three pounds. Luwaliram for a very pretty girl, for the daughter of a kantuoma (aristocrat), or of a very wealthy man, is naturally high; while that for an ugly girl, or one who has undesirable traits, or who is no longer a virgin (*bati*) is conversely low.

583 If the boy is old enough to have accumulated money of his
593 own, that will go towards his luwaliram, but the bulk of it is given by his father. The boy's father, or the head of the house in which he grew up, should he have grown up in a household

583 593 other than that of his own father, is the basic contributor to 583 the luwaliram. His abakura (FaElBr) and abagana (FaYoBr) may 604 contribute a share of the luwaliram, but his bawa (FaSi) is more likely to help in building a house for the boy rather than give to his luwaliram. His yakura (MoElSi), Yigəna (MoYoSi), and Rawa (MoBr) only would give money to the luwaliram if their nephew grew up in their house. If not, they have no responsi- 583 593 bility towards paying a share of his luwaliram. Since it typically happens that a boy grows to maturity in his father's house, his father has the primary responsibility for providing the luwaliram. A poor man would not ask a wealthy friend of his for luwaliram money which he, the poor man, must provide for his son.

If the father of a girl sees that his daughter is getting older, and that her prospects for getting married are not good for one reason or another, he may give his daughter away as a sadaka (alms) marriage. If he can, he gives his daughter as wife to an important malam, along with many presents and clothes. If he cannot afford to give presents, he just gives the girl. In such a marriage there is no bride-price, the only permitted exception to the general rule. The girl's father acts as her luwali, assuming responsibility for her conduct. Though she may be unattractive and bad-tempered, the man to whom the girl is given cannot refuse her if she is given as a sadaka marriage.

583 Other forms of marriage which avoid payment of a luwaliram are specifically not permitted. Exchange marriage is forbidden

583 by Maliki law. Premarital bride-service is not permitted in lieu of the luwaliram. A man would be ashamed to go to his future father-in-law to say that he had no money to pay the luwaliram.

584 The girl is represented by her luwali in arranging a marriage. The luwali may be a relative or friend of the girl, but not her father (except in the case of a sadaka marriage noted above). The luwali states the amount of the luwaliram. The bridegroom may also be represented by someone, or he may make his own arrangements. The bridegroom, or his representative, may accept the stated price, or he may bargain for a lower price. The luwaliram is given to the luwali, who in turn passes it to [431] the girl's father. The girl's father gives a token fee to the luwali, gives presents to the groom which include both money and clothing, and gives his daughter household utensils and jewelry.

583 At the time of marriage, an additional payment, sədagu [436] (Arabic, sadak), is made. Sədagu is paid in the form of Maria Theresa dollars, two to five being the average amount of sədagu payment, though now eight shillings may be substituted for each Maria Theresa dollar. The size of the sədagu is arranged for before the marriage, and initial payment of part of the sədagu [586] may be made before the marriage. Should a couple divorce before the entire sədagu has been paid, the difference must be paid at the time of divorce.

Finally, in addition to both luwaliram and sədagu, there is still a third type of payment, called məri, which must be

583 paid before the marriage or it is not a legal marriage. Mori, too, can vary in size, but it is the smallest of the three payments, and usually amounts to several shillings.

585 The wedding itself is very brief. It is presided over by a Malam, before many witnesses. The Malam asks the names of bride and bridegroom, asks them if they wish to marry, reads a section of the Koran. Then all pray, and the ceremony is ended as kola nuts (_goro_) are distributed to all present, and gifts are given to Malam and luwali. That evening, the husband's closest friends come to the bride's house to take her to the house of her husband. While her friends cry and try to hold her back, the husband's friends take the bride off by horse, and leave her at her husband's house. One friend of the girl refuses to leave her until the husband pays _fugurum_ (or ferorum), which is the set amount of thirty shillings, alike for rich and poor. _Fugu_ means hymen. The friend keeps several shillings of the fugurum for herself and gives the remainder to the mother of the bride, payment to her for protecting her daughter's virtue.

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626 Virginity of the girl is attested to by blood stains on a white blanket which has been spread on the wedding bed. The blood-stained blanket is taken from the room the following morning by friends of the girl and brought to her mother. If it is stained, mother praises daughter, and her friends parade it throughout the neighborhood. If it is not stained, the girl is cursed by all. If the husband finds that his bride is not a

585 virgin, he beats her that night, and proclaims it openly. Both
626 the girl and her mother feel shame; the husband, in turn, feels that he has been defrauded and has gotten a bad bargain. The fugurum money, however, is not repaid him. Though the Kanuri know that the hymen may be removed surgically, and that the Arabs do do this in order to make the wedding night less painful to the bride, they never do it themselves; the hymen is always forcefully broken.

585 On the following day, friends of the girl come to cook for her and for her husband, and they do this for seven days, while the bride does nothing except bathe and decorate herself while
[834] visitors come to greet her. Her husband is permitted to resume having intercourse with her after four days. If he has another wife, he does not sleep with her for those seven days, nor does she cook for him during that period.

b) Marriage with a divorced woman. The above description of marriage practices represents the marriage of a man with a kalə yaskə, described as a virgin, and usually, though not always a virgin. More properly, such a marriage should be called a girl's first marriage, in contrast to subsequent marriages.
586 Should she be divorced, the woman enters a totally different cat-
587 egory in the social structure. She becomes a zogor, and marriage with a zogor is different in many respects from marriage with a kalə yaskə. The status of a man does not change significantly after a divorce, consequently there is no category for a
000 man corresponding to that of the zogor. His first marriage fre-

His first marriage
582 frequently is with a kalə yaskə, but this is not always the case.
[587] Many young men of poor families marry a zogor when they marry
[556] for the first time. Since polygamy is permitted, and under Islamic
law a man may have as many as four wives, men of important
and wealthy families take more than one wife, and prefer to
marry a kalə yaskə each time.

885 It was mentioned that the kalə yaskə takes her name from
302 the hair-do worn by girls before maturity. After marriage, with
the permission of her young husband, she will have her hair redone
according to the style which characterizes an adult woman.
Thereafter she is not a kalə yaskə; she takes her place with
586 adults. Should she be divorced by her husband, she would return
885 to the protection of her luwali. She is then eligible for
marriage once again, though now she approaches the situation as
a grown woman, and of course, one who is not inexperienced in sex.
[587] Attitudes attending the marriage of a kalə yaskə, and much of the
ceremony involved, are no longer appropriate when a zogor marries.

586 A woman who becomes a zogor suddenly finds that she has a
great deal of freedom in her behavior. Her luwali, or some older
friend or relative, provides her with a room in his household,
[535] and men come to court her. She participates in the frequent outdoor
dancing in which only zogors take a part since no self-
584 respecting husband would permit his wife to dance publicly. An
587 unmarried man enters into a relationship with a zogor which
[431] ideally should end in their marriage. If he is not already married,
he comes to visit the zogor regularly, bringing her presents
of clothing and jewelry. It is accepted that a man court-

It is accepted that a man court-
586 836 ing a zogor has sex relations with her. The zogor differs
584 from a prostitute, who takes money from each man who has sex
587 relations with her. Prostitutes are known, and the practice
[548] of prostitution is abhorred; zogors exist everywhere as a nat-
831 ural part of Kanuri social organization. The zogor does not
receive payment for her services, nor does she ever receive
several men in one night, a characteristic of prostitution
which the Kanuri particularly single out as repellent to them.
A zogor regularly is visited by the same man for a period of
weeks. Ideally, this ends in marriage; however, if they find
themselves incompatible the relationship is terminated and some-
one else comes to court the zogor, while the man enters into a
626 new relationship with another zogor. A woman who prolongs her
status as a zogor for several years, because she enjoys the
freedom which is permitted a zogor, or because she enjoys the
attentions of many men without the responsibilities of marriage,
begins to be thought of as a loose woman by the community. Few
men would marry such a woman because such a marriage would not
be expected to last.

595 Should a man have one wife and wish to marry a second, a zogor, he would begin to pay attention to the zogor. Noticing this, his first wife might become jealous, and might ask him, "What are you doing talking to that zogor?" Should he answer that he wishes to marry her, the issue is settled, as it is perfectly reasonable for a man to contemplate taking a second wife. However, attitudes towards a second wife vary among Kanuri wom-

595 en, depending on a number of factors, and the husband would wish to determine his first wife's feeling on the subject before proceeding further. He might also want to examine his own feelings toward his first wife, should the possibility arise that she might refuse to accept a second wife in the household. [837] Unlike the unmarried man, a married man is not supposed to sleep with a zogor before marrying her, since that would be adultery.

587 A man wishing to marry a zogor discusses the matter with her. If the marriage is acceptable to her, he pays the luwaliram money directly to her. Luwaliram for a zogor is much less than for a kalə yaskə. Whereas all marriages with a kalə yaskə involve the payment of sədagu, many marriages of a man with a zogor leave out the sədagu. Məri payment on marrying a zogor is no more than two or three shillings.

The husband-to-be buys kola nuts (goro) which he will distribute, while his wife-to-be begins buying and grinding millet which she will take with her to her new home. A zogor may buy six to eight shillings worth of millet which she pounds and grinds, and other foodstuffs such as wheat, rice, salt and pepper to take with her, but she brings less food to the new home than does a kalə yaskə.

The marriage ceremony itself is the same as that held when a kalə yaskə marries. Both husband and wife have a luwali who is responsible, in a sense, for the conduct of that person. The wedding takes place in the morning, and that evening women friends

587 of the wife, in numbers, bring her clothing and belongings
through the streets to her new husband's home. Later that night
the bride herself comes, accompanied by her very close friend
(*kususu*). There is no ceremony corresponding to that which takes
place when a virgin marries. The following day, her friends
cook the morning meal for her. After that, she cooks her own
[595] food. A man with a previous wife who marries a zogor will
sleep with his new wife for three consecutive days. After the
three initial days, he spends one night with each wife in regu-
lar rotation, as is the normal practice of a man with more than
one wife.

589 Bachelors are very rare. The primary informant in this
[115] area, Ya Mogorom, a woman of about fifty who is herself a grand-
mother several times, could not think of a single adult male
who had never married, though she said that it did occasionally
occur. Spinsters are just as rare, and Ya Mogorom could name
only a sixteen year old girl who was not yet married as an ex-
583 ample of an adult female who had never married. Common-law
836 marriages as such do not occur. A woman living with a man but
not married to him is his *nəmgəmtəm*, and is quite distinct from
587 his wife as she never cooks for him. Until the age of fifty a
zogor will remarry; beyond that she does not attempt to remarry.
A man will remarry as long as he is able to have intercourse.
581 Sometimes old people marry for convenience, after they can no
887 longer have intercourse. She cooks his food, and he provides
her with clothing and other things.

587 The levirate among the Kanuri is called fatorongabe. A man must marry the widow of his elder brother (yaga); he is not permitted to marry the widow of his younger brother (kərami). At the death of one's wife, one may marry her younger sister, but one is forbidden to marry her elder sister. This, too, is called fatorongabe.

2. Divorce.

586 779 The Koran has a great deal to say about divorce, particularly in Sura II ("The Cow"), and Sura LXV ("Divorce"). It specifically mentions a waiting period of four months (three full menstrual courses for the woman) to determine if the woman is pregnant before the divorce is final and the woman becomes a zogor. A man may divorce his wife twice and take her back again, but after the third time, she must marry another man before she can remarry her first husband. After the waiting period, the husband cannot maliciously retain his former wife or prevent her from marrying another man. If the husband divorces his wife before the marriage is consummated, but after the bride-price has been settled, half of the bride-price should be paid, unless the husband is released from payment, but it is more proper that the 853 husband should forego it. After a divorce, mothers with nursing children should be permitted to let the children nurse for two whole years, while they are supported by the father of the child.

Kanuri practice concerning divorce operates within the limits dictated by the Koran. The husband divorces his wife by say-

586 779 ing, "I divorce you," or, "The marriage is over." When a husband divorces his wife she leaves his house and goes to the house of her luwali. A wife cannot divorce her husband, but, as the Alkali of Geidam phrased it, "The power of a woman is in the law; the law helps her." As an example, he noted that if a woman hits her husband, that is nothing, but if a man hits his wife, the marriage can be dissolved by an Alkali. She can ask the court to grant her a divorce if her husband is impotent, and therefore not a real husband. If he disputes the accusation the court may actually attempt to ascertain whether it is true or not, by witnessing whether the husband is capable of having intercourse with his wife.

A man may divorce his wife twice, and take her back within the three months and ten day waiting period, or at any time after that. After the third time, he is forbidden from taking
784 her back until she has married and divorced another man. If they continue to live together after the third divorce, they are living in a state of sin called dəl for which the punishment is hell. A man may divorce his wife only once and say dəla to her, and the marriage is dissolved, just as if he had divorced her for the third time.

When a man divorces his wife, friends and neighbors frequently come to attempt to arbitrate their dispute (sholo).
586 681 The husband may finalize the separation by saying, "Yanyi" (She is like my mother). Having said this, the marriage is ended, and the husband may not take back his wife unless he pays a fine

586 779 681 of sixty bowls of millet. If he pays the fine they may resume living together as a married couple; if he does not pay, living together is haram (forbidden), equivalent to living with one's mother as one's wife. If, in the course of a quarrel, the husband calls his wife "Yanyi", he must pay the fine or the marriage is dissolved.

586 779 [692] It would seem that the husband's abilities to dissolve a marriage are much greater than those of his spouse. The wife, however, has many ways open to her for bringing about a divorce, and, as was noted above, the law protects her rights. If the wife merely dislikes her husband and wants a divorce from him, he may refuse unless she pays him a sum of money. Since the husband loses the luwaliram when he divorces his wife, he will demand that she return the luwaliram to him (and some times more in addition), if it is she who wishes to bring about an end to the marriage. Amicable divorces of this type, where it is the wife who seeks to initiate the divorce, are brought about
586 779 626 695 by an agreement concerning the luwaliram payment. Should the husband refuse to divorce his wife, she may take to disobeying him, and cease to prepare his meals. In that case he may take her to court, and unless she has a reasonable claim against her husband (for example, that he beats her), the court will order her to swear on the Koran that she will behave properly in the future. Oaths taken on the Koran are thought of in very
[794] serious terms, and are not lightly broken. It is thought that a wife who has sworn on the Koran and who breaks her oath will die for swearing falsely.

586 779 for swearing falsely. The wife, however, is in a powerful position since she can continue to make life unpleasant for her husband in a variety of ways. She can take to going out a lot, on a variety of pretexts. One day she may visit a friend; another day it may be her "sick cousin." The husband will become increasingly more jealous and enraged at being unable to control his wife's behavior, and may eventually capitulate and grant her a divorce involving an agreement concerning return of the luwaliram.

Children under whatever circumstances of divorce belong to the father, though the father must leave them with their mother until they are weaned. They then come to live with him.

[591] If a husband has divorced his wife and therefore has not had the luwaliram returned to him, he may take back all the gifts that he gave to his wife during the course of their marriage: jewelry, clothing, household goods, etc. If the wife has paid back the luwaliram in order to obtain a divorce, the husband has no claim to the presents which he gave her. If a kalə yaskə wishes to divorce her husband, she must pay him a great deal more than a zogor would pay, since the luwaliram for her was so much greater.

586 578 152 The Kanuri talk about boye, a jealous curiosity which a husband or a wife may feel towards one's divorced spouse. This involves longing to return to a former spouse, looking to see what the divorced spouse is presently doing, and curiosity as to whether she or he has new lovers. Boye may reach the point

586 578 152 where a former spouse might attack his wife's new lover with a knife.

3. Residence.

591 593 369 183 It is usually stated that after marriage, a boy's father builds his house for him if he is able to, and he builds his son's house close to his own. This is subject to a number of qualifications, the foremost being the all-pervading difference between rural and urban Kanuri culture. In the rural villages the ideal is frequently realized, and the son marries and lives [606] not far from the house of his mother and father. His wives then prepare meals for their mother- and father-in-law, as well as for their husband. The old mother continues to cook for her husband, but her daughter-in-law sends her additional food as well. However, if there is no plot of land on which to build a house adjacent to his father's house, the son's house may be built any place else. If the boy's father is dead, his mother may build the house for him, or he may work and earn money with which he may build his own house. If the boy's father is a poor man and has no money for building his son's house, his son may leave the village, marry elsewhere, and build his house in another village or another town. If he marries a girl whose father is a rich man, the father-in-law may build a house for his daughter and her husband, though it is much more common for the father of the boy to build the house. If a man with a rich farm has several daughters and no sons, his sons-in-law may come to live near his house and help him farm.

000 near his house and help him farm.

591 369 166 183 In the towns, the situation is much more fluid, and wealth differences are more pronounced. Consequently there is considerable mobility and a greater tendency for sons to strike out on their own. In addition, there is a constant stream of younger people moving from the villages to the towns and cities, and from one town to another. These conditions, taken together with the relaxed attitude which the Kanuri hold toward a standard rule of residence (that is, that ideally sons should live close to their fathers, though other forms are equally acceptable), would lead one to conclude that post-marital residence among the Kanuri exhibits a tendency towards initial patrilocal residence, particularly in the rural areas, but that neolocal residence is more characteristic of the entire society.

591 888 [592] When parents grow old, a married son or married daughter can bring them to live in his or her home. A married son may build a house close to his own for his old parents to live in, and would supply them with food and clothing. A man may be required by the Alkali to send food to his old parents, but he is not forced to build a house for them close to his own.

4. The Family.

596 592 As is evident from the above discussion of postmarital residence, extended families when they do occur among the Kanuri, are exceptional since most frequently postmarital residence is neolocal. At certain times, as when a young married couple live

596 592 in the household of the boy's father, or when an elderly parent is taken into his son or daughter's household, three generations are found living together. Most typically, no more than two generations are found living in the same household. These may be either nuclear families, or polygamous families.

595 Polygamy is preferred, though it is of course difficult to support two or more wives. Sororal polygamy is forbidden--a man may not marry two sisters; in fact, he is forbidden from visiting with two sisters who are both zogors (and therefore he would presumably be sleeping with them), since they are both potentially spouses.

A man's house is surrounded by the walls of his compound, and within these walls live all the members of his household. Each wife must have her own house with its small surrounding area. This is her zəgəsə (meaning a narrow area). It is preferable that the house areas of a man's co-wives be distinctly separated, so that one wife cannot hear her husband as he speaks to his other wife when they are alone. The zəgəsə are frequently walled off within the compound. Since the husband
422 593 usually builds his house, or has it built for him by his father, he is the owner, and theoretically he owns everything which belongs to his wife as well, her clothing and her personal effects, and the cooking utensils, storage pots, and household possessions.
[586] He can demand these things from her should she leave his house, though this rarely happens and she normally leaves, taking these possessions with her.

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595 The husband has absolute claim to the sexual rights of his wife. Should he have more than one wife, he must regularly alternate his stay at the house of the wife with whom he sleeps, spending one night in turn with each of his wives. Though he might not have sexual intercourse with her, he must spend the
[692] night in her house. Should he, for any reason, break the regu-
[684] lar alternation, his wife can bring him before the Alkali who would force him to observe the rule or dissolve the marriage. In this way, although the husband has absolute rights, the law once again helps to protect the wife. It can, and frequently does happen that a man will have preferences among his wives. He may recently have married a young girl whom he finds more attractive than an older wife, but he may not allow his attraction for her to cause him to favor her by sleeping with her, at night,
[846] more frequently than he does with his other wives. After a woman has borne a child, her husband must not have intercourse with her for forty days, but he must sleep in her house when her turn comes despite the fact that he may not have intercourse with her.

595 Where there is more than one wife, the wife who has been married to the household head for the longest period of time is senior wife in the household. This is a position of authority in the household. Though she may not curse or beat the other wives, she does give orders which are obeyed by the other wives. Disputes between lesser wives are settled by the head wife. If one lesser wife will not cease making trouble after being warned, the head wife may tell her husband that the lesser wife is a per-

595 sistent cause of trouble within the household and that he must
divorce her. If the situation cannot be remedied, the husband
will divorce the wife who is the cause of the difficulty. If
there are only two wives in the household and they quarrel, the
husband attempts to settle their disputes, though if they continue the husband may divorce one or the other.

593 The primary responsibility of the husband is to support
595 his wives and children. The wives in turn cook the food and
prepare meals for their husband. Each wife prepares the meals
for her husband on the day when it becomes her turn to sleep
with him. This task is central to the well-being of a household, and to continued pleasant relations between husband and
[581] wife. Among the highest virtues stressed in a future bride are
her abilities as a cook. In addition, the wives as a group prepare all the food for other household members, for visitors,
and for others who regularly come to eat with a particular house-
[252] hold. This frequently requires a great deal of work, particularly in pounding, sifting and grinding millet. The senior wife
supervises food preparation of this kind, and distributes tasks
to her co-wives which they perform under her direction.

[302] Each week the husband gives his wife market money to buy
food for the week, and in addition he gives her a small sum to
buy kola nuts (goro) and tobacco buds (fəle) which she uses to
[431] stain her teeth. If he is a good husband he buys her clothes,
and gives her gifts of jewelry. In all these things a husband
must treat each wife alike. Each must receive the same amount

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for weekly household expenses. If one is given a gift, the other must also be given a gift of equal value. No sign of preference of a public nature may be shown. Finances of husband and wife are maintained separately. Money earned by the wife through her own activities (for example, through trading) belongs to her, and she may spend her own money as she wishes.

Though the polygamous family has a certain overall organization, particularly in the structuring of relationships between co-wives, with a senior wife as head wife, it is also evident that each nuclear family within the household exists as a separate entity. The individual distinctiveness of the nuclear family can be seen in the emphasis on separate and isolated houses for each wife, in the discreet units of time which the husband is required to spend with each wife (he sleeps with each in turn and she cooks for him on that day), and in the separate and equal treatment which he is required to give each wife (equality of market money, equality of gifts). Emphasis on the distinctiveness of each nuclear family functions to preserve the identity of each wife and to stress her worth to her husband, the head of the household. It thus serves to inhibit jealousy, a divisive force which, if permitted direct expression, would shatter the unity of the household. Jealousy between co-wives finds expression in a number of less direct ways; it is not permitted to erupt into quarreling, cursing or fighting (though these certainly occur), and above all the husband must do everything in his power to avoid actions which might encourage jealousies between his wives.

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000 ousies between his wives.

59 The separate nuclear families which make up the larger polygamous Kanuri family demonstrate an overall unity when one focuses attention on the household as a structural group. At the core of the household is the polygamous family, but the household may include many other individuals, both kin and non-kin.

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[152] Polygamous families also appear much more unified when one attends to the behavior of adults towards children within the household. Though the presence of children is potentially the greatest source of jealousy between co-wives, particularly when one wife has borne one or more children while another has never borne a child, Kanuri attitudes and treatment of children within the household minimizes these jealousies. All women within reach of a child play with it, feed it, and watch over it. Children wander freely in and out of the houses of their father's wives (their ya chinta), and differences between co-wives are not permitted to extend to their children. In effect, children bridge rather than emphasize the gaps between co-wives and between nuclear families.

5. The Household.

592 It is a natural step to move from a consideration of the polygamous family, the central kin group in Kanuri society, to that of the household. However, though the household has the polygamous family at its core, it is not primarily a kin group.

592 [602] Relationships within the household are patterned after kinship relations, and kinship terminology is used in referring to these relations, but kinship is not the basis for establishing these relationships in the first place. The household is a corporate group, in that its membership is clearly defined, it operates with common interests of the group in mind, and the household group is itself structured and dependent upon the fulfillment of mutual obligations. In this sense, the household group among the Kanuri is functionally very similar to the corporate kin group in a society with unilineal descent.

The household is made up of all those individuals living within compound walls; the physical definition of the compound [594] corresponds to the social unit of the household. A household may be as small as two people--husband and wife, and in a statistical sense the commonest type of household is made up of 592 369 565 [595] the nuclear family. It was noted that in the small villages wealth differences between various members of a village were slight, and consequently polygamy tends to be rare. It follows, too, that under those circumstances the household is small, usually no larger than the nuclear family. In the larger towns, households may be very large, since households vary directly in size with the wealth and social class of the household head. Many of the factors which enter into the growth of a man's household concern the system of social stratification among the Kanuri. Some indication of the nature of social

592 565 369 stratification among the Kanuri has been given, but more extended discussion will be reserved for a later point.

351 392 To this point the compound has been described as an area enclosed by walls, with a single entrance gate. Each compound has as its head an adult married male, referred to as the master of the house (kəmanzə fatobe). The compound is divided into fərək (literally meaning wide or open area) and zogəsə (narrow area). Each wife has her own zəgəsə, and the master of the house may, in addition, have a house of his own. The open area, or fərək, is the open communal area, and servants, retainers and slaves, with their wives and children, may live there.

592 Since the family as a unit has been described above, and it was also noted that occasionally elderly parents are taken in by their married sons or daughters, other categories of individuals who may be found as part of a household will now be described.

592 567 [565] Slaves are a part of the household, but since only royalty (ngalwo) or aristocracy possess slaves, most of the population do not have slaves as a part of their households. Those heads of families who do own slaves normally count their slaves in the hundreds. Few of these become part of the household of their owners. Male slaves are a part of their master's household only if their own families performed duties within the household of their master; most slaves today live on the lands of their former masters, far from the household of their present master. Neither master nor slave, under such circumstances,

592 567 particularly acknowledges the relationship between them, unless the slave should be in the direct presence of the man who he knows is his master. However, the relationship between master and slave determines the behavior of both at all times, when 592 567 595 the slave is part of his master's household. A female slave may be chosen as a concubine (chir) by her master. She then becomes part of his household. Though a man may have no more than four wives, he may have any number of concubines. A chir enters into a special class of concubines when she becomes a murshe. She is then given a house of her own, and has a distinct legal status, slightly different from that of a wife, but with its own strictly defined rights and obligations. Like a wife, a murshe must have her own house. A husband spends one night with a murshe, and two with a wife, in regular rotation. However, here the husband has an option--he may spend no more than one night with each murshe, but if angry at a particular one, he may pass her by. The murshe prepares the master's food on the day when it is her turn to sleep with him, just as a wife would do. She also shares in all the economic tasks which fall to the woman in a household.

592 567 565 The household of aristocracy, therefore, may include slaves, both male and female. Male slaves (kalya) may be young boys and youths who live in the fərək area of the compound, or they may be married men who live with their own nuclear families in areas of the compound alotted to them, and are included, along with their families, as part of the master's household. Female

592 slaves living within the compound as part of the household may
567 565 be children or young girls, or they may be chirs. Murshe who
bear children are freed by virtue of being the mother of their
[428] master's child, though they remain murshe. Such a child inher-
its equally with children borne to a wife.

592 At present there are many powerful and wealthy household
556 [565] heads who are not members of the aristocracy or royalty. These
men, though they do not own slaves, are important men in the
larger towns, and their households reflect their wealth and
592 their social importance. Included as part of their household
597 may be children who have been given to them and are their adopted
sons. Children are frequently given by their parents to indi-
viduals in other households, where they grow up. There are two
types of 'giving': a child may be given to a close relative,
such as to one's childless brother or to one's mother, whose
children are all grown and whose house is now empty. A man
blessed with many children of his own will give a child to a
592 relative. Another sort of giving involves naming the child
597 557 after an important man (the child's chibuna). The chibuna then
[553] has the option of asking for the child after it is weaned, or
later, so that the child will grow up in his household as his
adopted son. A child growing up as part of an important man's
household will have many possibilities open to him, possibili-
ties not available to the common man. The parents make the
initial choice when they name the child, indicating that they
would wish their son to grow up in his chibuna's household. The

592 important man then exercises his choice by asking for the child
597 should he observe it to be bright and attractive, or neglecting
557 to ask should he for some reason not want the child. The child
is usually given at the time of weaning. If the child is given
to his chibuna, he does not return to visit his real parents,
as there is shame (nungu) involved, though he will not call his
adopted parent "my mother", or "my father." A man treats his
adopted son (his chibuna--a reciprocal term) just as he would
[428] treat his own son. However, the boy does not inherit from his
[583] chibuna. The head of the household does supply his adopted son
with a bride-price when he marries.

557 Many boys are named after nobles, after Lowans and Ajias.
592 Some of these chibuna are taken into the aristocratic household,
597 though a good many are not and grow up in their true father's
565 household. Certain talaka household heads have become very
wealthy in the recent years, and have three or even four wives
and very large households. Neighbors and acquaintances may
name their sons after these men, who may then take their young
chibuna into their household. It is clear, therefore, that size
and composition of one's household is related to the old system
of social stratification (royalty, aristocracy, talaka, slaves),
since slaves are part of the household of both royalty and aris-
[178] tocracy. It is also related to the rise of new classes of peo-
ple, as a result of changing economic and political conditions,
and this can be seen in the giving of children to household heads
who are themselves talaka, but have become powerful and wealthy.

592 In addition to the formal relationships between master and slave, and between adopted son and chibuna, described above, there are informal ways through which an individual may become attached to a household. Every adult must be attached to some 592 household. Since the minimal household is represented by a man 586 and his wife, a divorced couple marks the end of their household. Each of them, man and woman, must now attach himself to another household. The primary reason for this is economic--and it makes itself felt immediately in the problem of food. [462] A man without a wife has no one to cook for him. Since no Kanuri man would ever cook for himself (cooking and preparation of food are tasks confined to women), he must attach himself to the household of a friend, neighbor, or close relative, [156] and regularly take his meals there. However, it is somewhat shameful to continue on in this position, and a man who had recently divorced his wife tends to take another wife before long, thereby re-establishing his own household. The woman, after a divorce, goes back to her luwali, and becomes a zogor who lives in his household until she remarries. She, too, becomes a temporary member of her luwali's household and takes her meals with the women of that household. The luwali has the responsibility of offering a roof to his ward after her divorce, and it is not uncommon to find a zogor living for a time as a part of a large household. Men will regularly come to court her, and in time she will remarry and leave her luwali's household.

000 There is still another way to become part of a large house-

There is still another way to become part of a large house-
592 369 hold. This is the most informal of the various sets of rela-
tionships, and is particularly characteristic of the larger
towns and cities. In the villages, a man who is a talaka can
always clear new land, farm industriously, marry, and establish
592 his own household. In the larger towns and cities, it is ex-
369 tremely difficult to make one's fortune without the help of
879 some protector. Consequently it becomes imperative for a
463 571 young man recently come to the city to find such a protector,
and when he does he becomes part of that man's household. Crafts-
men and traders form the bulk of the specialists in the towns
and cities, but how is a young man to learn a trade, or to get
his start in commerce? He does so by becoming attached to the
household of a craftsman, a leather-worker or dyer, where he
begins by performing menial tasks of various sorts and where he
eventually learns that trade. Or he becomes part of the house-
hold of a wealthy trader, where once again he performs common
household tasks until he has demonstrated his trustworthiness
and his willingness to work hard. The master of the house will
then begin to entrust him with increasingly more important tasks,
until he becomes the trusted agent of his master, dealing in
large sums of money and given important responsibilities. Through-
out this time he is referred to as tata njima, son of the house.
592 In households made up of more than the simple nuclear family,
609 tata njima form the largest single category of individuals. The
571 relationship between tata njima and the komanzə fatobe is con-
ceived of, and patterned after the kinship relationship between

592 father and son, though of course kinship has nothing to do with
609 setting up that relationship in the first place. In this sense,
571 the household functions like a kin group but is not itself a product of kinship.

592 The Kanuri do not hire servants, nor do they typically hire
461 other Kanuri to work for them. A man's labor is not for hire,
571 to be paid for in cash. Though the Kanuri have long used money in commercial dealings, its use has never been extended to labor. One man works for another because that is part of his obligation which grows out of their relationship. A tata njima works for the master of the household, not for any immediate payment such as wages, but because the relationship between a tata njima and his master entails labor on the part of the tata njima. Not only is he expected to perform any task asked of him by the household head, he is also expected always to act in the interests of the household head, and constantly to protect those interests. Tata njima who are part of the household of a trader help him in the distribution and sale of his goods and travel to other markets selling goods in his behalf; they also farm for him during the rainy season, and do all sorts of tasks about the compound.

592 In turn, the head of the household is obliged to provide
571 his tata njima with shelter and with clothing, and to feed
[583] them. He provides the luwaliram for male members of the house-
[586] hold, and stands in as luwali for females. After a divorce, both man and woman may return to his household. He is also ex-

592 pected to provide for the larger needs of members of his house-
571 hold--to provide education for the gifted, or to give a donkey
or horse to a particular household member so that he may more
effectively perform his tasks. The obligations of one set of
the pair, the master of the house for example, becomes the ex-
pectation of his counterpart, the tata njima. Conversely the
master expects that the tata njima will fulfill his obligations
[567] to the household. In the case of slaves, obligations are more
binding on both sides than in the case of tata njima. A master
who recognizes his obligations to a slave is ultimately bound
to provide for him. A tata njima who fulfills the expectations
of his master can expect to be given greater responsibilities,
in accordance with his master's position. However, a tata njima
who does not fulfill his master's expectations (i.e., does not
properly perform his obligations), can expect to have responsi-
bilities taken from him, and less desirable tasks thrust upon
592 him. Should he radically violate his master's trust he may be
571 expelled from the household, and the relationship between tata
464
[626] njima and master of the house is abruptly ended. This is far
more serious than merely being unemployed. An adolescent who
finds himself in such a position attempts to become attached to
another household, that of a less important man, in which he oc-
cupies a more lowly position. It is imperative that he be at-
tached to some household, particularly if he is a young man with
not enough savings set aside to provide for a decent luwaliram.
Should he be unsuccessful in finding another household for him-

592 464 571 self, he may become part of the small but growing proletariat in the cities, who work for wages for a European company.

592 571 It is interesting to note that under normal circumstances the relationship between the tata njima and the head of a household can be perpetuated after the tata njima has married and has set up his own small household--with his wife and children. The master of his household provides him with a bride since he has paid the luwaliram, and though the tata (son) has left the compound itself, he continues to acknowledge the relationship. He does this by returning regularly to eat at his master's house. [264] Patterns of eating form wide circles encompassing many households at times, and delineating a wider network of relationships. 592 571 182 The nature of the relationship between individuals outlined here is at the core of Kanuri social structure. It characterizes a social relationship, as well as an economic and political relationship; it is repeated at every level of Kanuri society, and in slightly different form it epitomizes the nature of political relations at the state level as well.

592 To recapitulate briefly, the household as a social unit may include the following classes of people:

1. An adult married male--master of the household.
2. Remainder of the nuclear family--his wife or wives and their children.
3. Members of the extended family--elderly parents.
4. Adopted children--either given to relatives (and therefore also part of the extended family), or given to chibuna.

592 5. Slaves--both male and female; chirs and their children.

6. Zogors and bachelors, as temporary members.

7. Tata njima--non-kin.

8. Malams of the Koran--taken in, and provided with a house and food, as an act of charity.

592 571 554 The term yal is used for members of the household who are not close kinsmen of the household head. This group, some of whom are necessarily present while others are occasionally found, some permanent and others temporary, some kinsmen and others not, forms the central social unit in Kanuri society. Its size and its composition reflects the status of the household head in the larger society, in terms of both the old and traditional system of social stratification, and in terms of present-day [156] realities and opportunities. The solidarity of the household as a unit also reflects the ability of the household head to satisfy the expectations of the various members of his household, and consequently to live up to his own view of himself and his status in Kanuri society. In order to satisfy his wives, his slaves, his tata njima, and to induce people to name sons after him, he must be in a position, economically and politically, which will permit him to meet expectations. They, in turn will labor for him, and by their labors, as well as by their very presence as part of his household, the members of his household will help the household head to validate his status in the society.

6. The Web of Kinship.

61 It was noted earlier that, according to Fortes, the rise of the state marks a decline in the importance of corporate descent groups. Fortes cites the Nupe as a case in point. Nadel, who has described the Nupe in detail, has this to say about kinship:

> "Let me say in conclusion that kinship structure in Nupe is not that dominant, all-enveloping structure which we know from many primitive societies. Although it bears upon religious life, education, and the organization of production, it is greatly overshadowed as a determinant of social behavior by the factors of political organization and, in economic life, by economic interests proper."[1]

This is even more true for the Kanuri, who have no kin groups, than it is for the Nupe, who are patrilineal in descent and have
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patrilineages. The Kanuri recognize kinship as an ever-widening network of relationships. Behavior towards one's various relatives is structured and follows cultural rules of respect and joking as the case may be, but, as in most bilateral societies, only the personal kindred exists, definable for any given individual but without the formal properties of a group.

601 The word dur is used in referring to both family and relatives. The Kanuri distinguish between relatives linked through one's mother, referred to as dur chambe(family through milk), and relatives linked through one's father, called dur bube (fam-
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627
ily through blood). They say that the dur bube (father's family) is stronger than the dur chambe, and in explanation they offer the following example: If a child is killed by someone, the

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[1] S. F. Nadel, A Black Byzantium (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 33.

602 younger brother (kərami) of the child's father, a relative belonging
627 to the child's dur bube, will avenge the child's death,
and under those circumstances the law will not punish the avenger.
The karami of the child's mother will do nothing, for should
he avenge the death of his sister's child the law states that
he himself may be punished. This seems to be the only case for
stating that the dur bube is stronger than the dur chambe.

174 It is extremely difficult to reconstruct earlier Kanuri
611 social organization, and to indicate the changes which it has
gone through. It is evident however, that patrilineal descent
groups were present at the time of the accounts of Barth and
Nachtigal, both of whom spent long periods of time with the Kanuri
174 in the nineteenth century. For earlier periods of the
history of Bornu, names are given for tribes, and, in the history
of federation, conquest and civil strife, these names sometimes
have an ethnic or linguistic character; at other times
they seem to designate political entities; and again they also
resemble clans at times.

192 The Kanuri have a word, jili, which means "kind" or "sort",
563 but can be used specifically for "nation," "people," or "kin
[601] group." A person's jili would first be given as Kanuri; he
would then indicate sub-groups of Kanuri--Kanuri proper, Buduwai,
563 Mobber, Manga, Kwoyam etc. These sub-groups today speak dialects
184 of Kanuri which are all mutually intelligible, and no other indigenous
174 [197] languages. They represent ethnic sub-groups who now
share in the same larger culture, but who may have entered Bornu

174 184 563 at different times, or may have become assimilated to Kanuri
17 culture. A shatter-belt of small tribes, part-pagan and part-
Moslem, and strongly influenced by Kanuri culture, rings Bornu
Emirate. (These have been described in Chapter I.) North of
Bornu are the Kanembu, closely related culturally and linguisti-
cally to the Kanuri, and with an inter-twined history that goes
back to the Empire of Kanem, which preceded the Empire of Bornu.
[614] The Kanembu and the Kanuri share another set of jilis--which
appear to be the remnants of patrilineal kin groups, or patri-
sibs.

173 614 The word jili will here be used in a very restricted sense
to refer to the sib. Informants with an interest in the history
of Bornu and with a strong historic sense relate that the jilis
were no longer functioning in the days when Shehu Laminu ruled
at Kukawa. Kanuri, Kanembu and all the sub-groups of Kanuri
(Kwoyam, Mobber, Manga etc.) were sub-divided into jilis with
[304] the same names cross-cutting them. A child was of the same
jili as his father, and each jili had its distinctive facial
scars by which its members could immediately be identified.
The jili was not endogamous. Each jili had its common ancestor,
whose name is known for every jili; each jili had as its head
[651] someone appointed by the Mai, or king. The primary function of
the jili head was to collect taxes (haraji) from the people of
[643] his jili. The Mais of old were of the jili Magumi, the royal
[613] sib, and of the sub-jili Sef. All individuals of the sub-jili
Sef are descended from Sef Isami who is reputed to have come

173 from Yemen, consequently the dynasty of the Mais of Bornu is re-
614 ferred to as the Sef dynasty. There are twelve such sub-jilis
613 within the jili Magumi. If within the sub-jili Sef a man should arise to great power and importance, his future descendants would refer to him as the ancestor of their sub-sub-jili (lineage) of the sub-jili Sef. One informant, who is Kanembu (but culturally Kanuri), gave the following pedigree: Kanembu, jili Kuvuri, sub-jili Kongana, sub-sub-jili Malam Shia. Malam Shia was an important historic personage who is considered to be the founder of the lineage which bears his name.

173 The Sef dynasty came to an end after the Fulani invasions,
643 and Shehu Laminu established the line of the present Shehus
614 though he himself never ruled as king. Shehu Laminu was Kanembu, of the jili Kuvuri. He was followed into Bornu by a number of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, with their retinue, who assisted
[178] him in driving back the Fulani. Shehu Laminu was instrumental in further reducing the role of the jilis by appointing a Shetima Kanuribe (Shetima is a noble title) as head of all the Kanuri, replacing the various heads of the jilis; he did the same for the Shuwas under him.

614 Today everyone knows his own jili, and the jili of his par-
178 ents, which may and usually does differ, but the jili no longer performs any social function. Few people can give their sub-jili.
[643] Many of the jilis today have a nominal head. The present Shehu is obviously head of all the Kanembu Kuvuri. The head of the Kanuri Magumi is the former Waziri Ibranim. The Shetima Kanuribe

614 178 is Shetima Mastafa, the Ajia of Kukawa. The head of the Kanembu Tamagari, is Alhaji Mai Manga of N'Guigmi, in Niger, not in [648] Nigeria. When Alhaji Mai Manga was appointed chief of his re- [643] gion by the French authorities the Shehu of Bornu, in British Nigeria, sent him a gown (kulugu) as his mark of office. It was necessary for him to obtain the traditional approval of the [563] Shehu before he could be accepted by the populace. The heads of Shuwa and Fulani jilis are given kulugus by the Shehu, which indicates the political nature of the jili, or sib. However, the heads of the Kanuri jilis today have no functions whatsoever. People come to pay them respect (noogna) as a result of their position, but this is all that remains attached to the position.

F. The System of Social Stratification.

175 565 The old Kanuri system of social stratification recognized four distinct social classes. These were royalty (ngalwo), aristocracy (kantuoma), commoners (talaka), and slaves (kalya). One can distinguish four separate variables, which, when taken together, determine the social importance of any category of individuals. These are: power, wealth, respect, and freebirth; among the Kanuri they can serve as criteria for determining the rank of a social class, or of a single individual within a class.

121 61 66 565 Power is a quality which can be used to define a social relationship, and which derives from the political structure

121 61 66 565 of a society. In societies where the state as an institution does not exist, political structure is either coterminous with kinship structure, or there is close co-ordination between the two. In the case of the Kanuri, the separate and distinct administrative organization which serves as the framework of the political structure,[1] implies a lessening of the role of kin groups to the point where they have disappeared among the Kanuri. Aside from relationships within the nuclear family, and to a lesser extent kinship relations generally, power derives its authority, among the Kanuri, from one's position in the political system, and the ability of one man to exert power over another is determined by the roles which the two men play in the political system.

121 556 565 Wealth as a variable used to determine the social importance of a single individual or of a category of individuals is analogous to power. Relative wealth defines a relationship between two individuals or two classes of individuals, and just as power derives from one's role in the political system, wealth derives from one's role in the economic system. In most primitive societies, the economic system is submerged within kinship and within the operation of kin groups. In some, the market has begun to emerge as a separate economic institution and increasingly social relationships are defined in terms of the market.

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[1] the distinctions made here as to types of political systems are taken from the Introduction to African Political Systems, edited by Meyer Forres and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).

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556 The Kanuri have long had markets and used money, but the use of
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437 money is limited to certain spheres of Kanuri culture. Money
[425] is used primarily as a medium for the exchange of goods. Its
use has just begun to be extended to certain types of land, as
noted above, but not all land can be freely bought and sold.
46 Similarly, a man's labor is not usually hired according to
556 Kanuri custom. Wealth, therefore, can be acquired through economic
565
activities in the market, but the means for doing this
are largely limited to the exchange of goods at a profit. A
man cannot acquire greater wealth by using his previously acquired
wealth to buy land, and then use the land which he has
bought to further increase his wealth. Nor can he directly exploit
the labor of other men by paying a cheap price for labor,
and selling the products resulting from the labor of others at
46 a profit. Labor, as explained in the section on the Kanuri
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592 household, is what one must do for one's household head; the
565 head in return must provide for household members in various
ways. Sheer accumulation of greater and greater wealth would
not be possible, since the household head must constantly expend
his resources to maintain his social position and to satisfy
the expectations of the members of his household.

554 Respect or prestige (Kanuri: *bərzəm* or *dareja*) is a quality
565 assigned to different positions in a society according to
the cultural values of that society. Individuals of high prestige
are expected to behave in certain ways, and failure to do

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554 so results in loss of esteem.[1] A pious and god-fearing man,
577 among the Kanuri, will have earned the respect of his neigh-
792 bors so long as he continues to behave in that fashion. On
565 the other hand, a Malam of the Koran is respected because he
belongs to a category of individuals which has high prestige in Kanuri society. Knowing that he is a Malam, people will treat him with respect. Should he not behave as Malams typically behave, he would suffer a loss of esteem. In this case, piety and study of the Koran are important values in Kanuri society, so that individuals who stress those values in their own behavior are accorded prestige.

567 The fourth and final variable which acts as a determinant
565 in the system of social stratification is whether a man has been
554
829 born a free-man (*kambe*) or a slave (kalya). This defines his
specific relationship to another man, his master, should he have been born a slave, but it has no effect on the three previous variables discussed above. It does not follow that a man born a slave necessarily ranks low in power, wealth or prestige. There is a certain amount of independence in the operation of each of the four variables.

1. Royalty and Aristocracy.

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565 In pre-contact times social stratification was rigid, and
554 had institutional support and recognition in two customs: the

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[1] usage here is according to Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945), pp. 73-74.

175 565 554 granting of titles by the Shehu (and before him by the Mais), and the regular practice of slavery.

A title (kagala) which the Shehu bestowed on a man was both a recognition, and a source of his social position, for the title embodied power, wealth and prestige. Power lay in the political office which accompanied the title; wealth lay in the access to land, labor and taxes which followed from title and office; prestige lay in the recognition by all of the symbolic meaning of the title. Aristocracy and slaves were given titles, but talaka, commoners, never were granted titles in former times.

565 554 644 [643] One set of titles is held by royalty. The title of Shehu itself is conferred by a council (moduləs) according to strict rules of succession, after a Shehu dies. Other titles belong to members of the Shehu's family. These are unlike most titles in that they are titles ascribed by virtue of royal kinship and are not conferred to the individual by the Shehu. They include:

Maina - a prince, the son of a Shehu; also brothers of the present Shehu whose father was himself Shehu.

Mairam- (also called Nana) - the daughter of a Shehu.

Maidugu - the grandchild of a Shehu.

Some royal titles are granted by the Shehu to royalty. These are:

Maira - mother of the Shehu. If the Shehu's own mother is dead, another woman is given the title Maira, and functions as the Shehu's 'mother'. The title can be given to someone not of the Shehu's own family, should he wish to do so.

554 *Mogorom* - younger sister of the Shehu. A conferred title
565 which can be given to anyone. If the Shehu does
644 not like his younger sister, he can give the title
to whomever he wishes.

Dogoma - also the younger sister of the Shehu, but a lesser title than that of Mogorom.

Gumsu - usually head wife of the Shehu, but the title can instead be given, at the Shehu's pleasure, to another wife.

Karjiroma - head of the Shehu's chirs.

175 Next let us turn to consider the Chimas, who had been men-
423 tioned earlier. Since all land was the Shehu's land, he had
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565 the power to give or withdraw the fiefs which were granted to
554 chimas. By custom, certain lands were reserved for the Imam.
[644] In addition, the Maira, Gumsu, and Mogorom also had their own
fiefs. The remaining lands were largely in the hands of the
Shehu's kabuna, his knights and the commanders of his troops.
175 The Shehu's kabuna were divided into those who were free (kambe)
565 and those who were slave (kalya). A number of titles which the
554 Shehu granted were reserved for slaves. Among the slave titles,
567
some were titles of kabuna, and others were not. Both of these,
kabuna slaves and non-kabuna slaves, could be chimas. The four
most important chimas held the following titles: *Kaigama* (a
slave, and the head of all slave kabuna), *Mastrema* (a slave,
but not a kabuna), *Yuroma* (a slave, but not a kabuna), *Yerima*
(a freeman and a kabuna).

175 The most important Kanuri titles, all those mentioned above,
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175 554 565 are individual titles which can be held by only one man at a time. There can be only one Kaigama, one Mastrema, and one Yerima at any given time. A man's son did not invariably inherit his father's title at his father's death. The title was conferred by the Shehu, customarily to the son of the previous title holder. If there were several sons, the one whom the Shehu judged most worthy was given the title; and if a title-holder had no sons, or no sons worthy of holding a title, the title might be given to anyone, though it was almost always given to someone of the household of the title-holder. There are several interesting cases of high titles given to talaka who were members of a household (the present holder of the title Talba is a slave who was given the title because there were no sons of the previous Talba; a horse boy inherited the title of Kaigama in the past; the Malam to the family, and a member of the household, inherited the title of Yirima). A talaka who was considered worthy, and was a member of a household whose head held a title might inherit that title; a common talaka without appropriate household affiliations could never hope to receive a title in former times.

The title was the mark of nobility in Kanuri society, and the embodiment of the several dimensions which, when taken together determined social importance. The title was linked to the system of feudal chimas who paid allegiance to the Shehu and effectively governed the land. The chimas had power, subject only to review by the Shehu himself, over the people in

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554 their lands; they had wealth because of their rights to tax the
565 populace, as well as their access to large tracts of farm land
[642] worked by the populace for the benefit of their chima, and to
[556] labor in the form of tax payment to the chima. The chimas had
[651]
175 prestige which rested in the noble title which they bore. But,
554 interestingly enough, it was not necessary to be free-born in
565
567 order to be a chima, or in order to receive a title. A slave
of the Shehu could himself occupy a position of enormous power as a titled chima, could be extremely wealthy, and would be respected as well as feared by the talaka, the free-born populace.
554 Lastly, it should be borne in mind that these attributes which
565
592 determine social position are shared by an entire household,
and not solely by one individual. It is true that only one man is granted a title, but he is the head of a large household. The more important the man, and the greater his title, the larger will be his household, including: number of wives, slaves, concubines, children given to him, and tata njima. These all share to an extent in the increased power and wealth of the titled household head. As his own position rises, his slaves and tata njima increasingly receive greater power and responsibility. They become his kabuna, collect taxes for him, administer the lands and eventually hope to be appointed Lowans, by which time they themselves will have large and important households.

2. Slaves.

565 Royalty, by virtue of their close kinship with the Shehu,
354 fall into a distinct category in Kanuri society. For some,
the kinship terminology takes the form of a title (Maina =
prince), others are granted royal titles by the Shehu (Gumsu).
Nobility represent a second category, composed of those titled
freemen who trace no relationship to the Shehu. Here the titles
are all conferred by the Shehu to a member of a household, who
becomes the head of that household upon receiving the title.
567 Since the Kanuri recognize a category of slaves, they should be
565 distinguished as a separate segment of the population. However,
they do not form the bottom-most stratum of Kanuri society, as
might be supposed. On the contrary, just as freemen are strat-
ified into nobility and commoners, so too can slaves be consid-
ered as a vertical segment of Kanuri society, falling into
numerous stratified layers within the category called "slave."

567 The principles governing slavery in Kanuri society must
now be considered so that the above view of the position of the
slave can be properly understood. A Moslem may not enslave
another Moslem, so that slaves can be taken only from pagan
175 peoples. In former times slaves were captured by raiding parties
567 who drove into pagan territory, sacked and burned villages, and
721 brought back captives who became slaves of Kanuri masters, eith-
er of the Shehu himself, or of officers of the army. Slaves
were most frequently taken by the Kanuri from among the Marghi,
to the south; from the tribes of the Gwoza hills; from the neigh-

175 borhood of the Shari river, south and east of Bornu; and the
567 lands east of the Shari. Of course, only pagan areas were
[721] raided.

Pagan peoples, on being captured in slave raids, remained with their Kanuri masters. As noted above, captured slaves belonged to either the Shehu (or the Mai in olden times), or to officers of the army, who invariably were titled nobles, and kabuna of the Shehu. However, Kabuna of the Shehu might be freemen or might themselves be slaves of the Shehu. In either case they could own slaves, so that it was possible for a slave to have slaves himself. In fact, a slave of the Shehu might own a slave, who in turn had a slave. In a legal sense, the owner of the first slave owned all the others, so that the Shehu owned all slaves of his slaves.

Although a Moslem may not enslave another Moslem, it is proper for a Moslem to own another Moslem as slave. Pagan slaves taken by Kanuri masters learned Kanuri culture, and their children grew up speaking only the Kanuri language and considered themselves Kanuri. They also became Moslems, but continued to remain slaves. This is in order, since one may not capture another Moslem, but one is not obliged to free a slave who converts to Islam. The slave of course has no jili since his ancestors were originally pagan (*kərdi*).

567 The hierarchy with respect to slaves is determined by sev-
554 eral factors. The first is whether the individual, and his
descendants, are slaves of the Shehu or the slaves of a noble

175 567 554 (in this case a titled free-born man and a titled slave of the Shehu's are identical). Let us first consider the case of a slave of the Shehu. Slaves of the Shehu fall into two general categories: kabuna and *sugurumma*. The kabuna are the knights and commanders of army units. The general of the army, and a slave kabuna, held the title of *Kaigama*, one of the highest Kanuri titles. The Kaigama was one of the four greatest chimas, ruling one of the largest fiefs. He had very many slaves of his own. Under the Kaigama were the *Kazellas*, high military officers who also were slaves. These were the slave Kabuna, 175 titled and themselves chimas. The sugurumma were an entirely 567 different category. They were personal slaves, in charge of 644 839 the household of the Shehu. It was a common practice in raiding for slaves, to capture large numbers of young boys as slaves of [304] the Shehu. These were then castrated; penis and testicles were removed entirely. Of a group of fifty or so, aged five or six, who were subjected to castration, it was said that perhaps five or six might survive the operation. These eunuchs (*adim*, an Arabic term) served as personal servants of the Shehu and lived in his household. The sugurumma is literally the keeper of the key, an indication of his position of trust within the Shehu's 175 household. Several titles are reserved for adims. These are:

567 644 839 554 *Yuroma* - the most important of the adims, and one of the four greatest chimas. On his death his title goes to the adim presently holding the title of:

Mastrema - the second most important title held by an adim, and another of the four greatest chimas. He is succeeded by the holder of the title:

175 567 644 554 839 *Shetima Abu Karim* - whose title is below the other two, but who is personally closest to the Shehu. He is succeeded by the

Mala Agadi. All other adim are called abagana. Today, of course, the adim titles are vacant, the last important adim being Mastrema Musa who died in 1921. He is remembered as a fat man, with a high voice and an evil disposition. He was for a time the Ajia of Borsari district, but was dismissed. One adim, Abagana Modu Manga, still survived and lived in Maiduguri in 1956. Not all of the sugurumma were eunuchs. The title *Digma* is that of a slave sugurumma who was not a eunuch, and that title survives today, held by the present Ajia of Magumeri district.

175 567 554 Slaves of the Shehu fall therefore into two vertical categories, kabuna and sugurumma, and crowning each of these categories were titled slaves who were among the most powerful individuals in the land, and account for three of the four most important chimas. However, the bulk of the Shehu's slaves never rose to positions of great power; they served in a variety of lesser capacities, performing tasks of various degrees of importance in the administrative system and within the household of the Shehu.

Slaves of a noble, either a titled slave or a titled freeman, also fall into differing categories, which serve to determine their position. One class of slave is the *susana*, or house slave. He has been born in the household of his master, usually of a line of slaves who have always been slaves of one

175 567 family. The susana has distinctive facial scars. The gawi
554 is a slave without a master. He may affiliate himself with a
[304] new master if he so chooses. Lastly, there is the slave who
175 567 was bought as a chattel in the market-place, a common practice
554 in the days when Kukawa was the capital. The susana is part
592 of his master's household, whereas the others are not. The
susana of an important noble shares some of that importance
by being part of the noble's household, and susana of titled
nobles who were chimas served as kabuna of those nobles, and
were themselves powerful individuals. The case cited above
of the title Talba, granted to a slave in the household of the
previous title-holder when there were no sons, indicates the
position of a trusted susana in the household, and also demonstrates the nature of household unity.

567 Upon the death of a man who owns slaves, his son inherits
428 his slaves. Slaves are inherited just like other forms of
[643] property. The one exception to this is that the Shehu may
take any slaves or chirs of one of his kabuna, either slave or
567 free, after that man's death. The rule governing children of
slaves is that if the mother is a slave, the child is himself
a slave of his mother's master. Status of the father does
not enter in determining whether a child is slave or free, so
that the offspring of a slave father and a free mother are
567 themselves free. A slave says "kəmanyi" (my lord) to his master,
576 178 though nowadays people say that "kəmanyi" is said only to
Allah. Under the Mais of old, all talaka said "kəmanyi" to the

567 Mai; under the reign of the Shehus only slaves say "kemanyi"
576 to their masters and to the Shehu, and certain of the Shehu's
178 free-born kabuna address him in that way today.

576 A slave may be given from one master to another, and a
slave may be freed at the will of his master. A man will call
in witnesses to be present and note that he is giving such and
[673] such a slave his freedom. This may also be done in a will
after a man's death, though he may not free all of his slaves
in this fashion as this would be interpreted as seeking to disinherit
one's descendants, which is forbidden by law. A man
may also give a chir her freedom, and marry her as a regular
wife if he so wishes.

576 The buying and selling of slaves has been prohibited in
178 this century, but the institution of slavery persists. Slaves,
[304] or rather susana, are still distinguished by their distinctive
[291] scars, and by their bare heads--a characteristic which is immediately
noticeable since all free-born adult Kanuri males wear
[554] hats. The persistence of slavery, however, is clearly a function
[369] of the need to attach one's self to the household of an important
man, particularly in urban situations. This has always been
a characteristic of Kanuri society, and it continues to be so
today. The slave is no longer forced to remain in the position
of slave, but the potential relationship is frequently actuated
by slave and by master, and as long as each meets the expectations
of the other in satisfactory fashion, the relationship is
perpetuated. Furthermore the status of the slave was never that

Furthermore the status of the slave was never that
567 of a degraded individual, since titled slaves were themselves
178 part of the nobility. In fact, a slave who is part of an im-
554 portant man's household may refer to "talaka" in a derogatory
156 manner, indicating his own superior position to that of the impoverished peasant farmer.

3. Talaka.

565 The talaka in the towns and villages formed the bulk of the population in the days of the empire just as they do today. In former times they were the talaka of a particular chima; today they are the talaka of a particular District Head.

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554 But the class of talaka is far from homogeneous. The primary distinction to be made is between rural and urban talaka. Rural talaka do tend to be a rather homogeneous group. Urban talaka may fall into a variety of types, which differ in
[175] their relative wealth and prestige. In the days of the empire
565 there were wealthy talaka who lived in the cities. Trade had
369
554 always been important in Bornu, and a class of important trad-
463 ers formed a segment of the urban talaka population. Similarly,
[441] the various specialists and artisans who lived in the towns and cities formed distinct groups within the talaka population, just as other types of specialists were and still are viewed as low-status groups.

565
554 Since they are all talaka, none wield political power, and so one might say that there were no differences between the various types of talaka with respect to power. However, there

However, there
565 were great wealth differences between different talaka groups.
556 Traders, artisans, and farmers exhibited enormous wealth dif-
554 ferences between them and, as would be expected, these wealth differences were reflected in the difference in size of household between different types of talaka. In the cities, wealthy traders and well-to-do artisans occupied large compounds along with the many members of their household; while non-specialized laborers, low-status artisans, hand-to-mouth tradesmen, and ordinary farmers lived with their nuclear families in small compounds and at a much lower standard of living.

55 With respect to relative prestige there were also great
792 differences between various types of talaka. The most prestigeful activities are associated with Islam. Piety and study of the Koran earn a man prestige. Devoting one's life to the study of the Koran, by becoming a Malam, earns one great prestige, though the Malam is dependent on charity and consequently can never be a wealthy man. At the top of the religious hierarchy there are individuals who may be powerful (since the Shehu is advised by his Malams) and wealthy, but these are exceptional individuals. Malams as a group enjoy great prestige, but little power or wealth.

h. Changes in the Stratification System.

648 At the time of the present study (1956-1957), Bornu was
642 under British colonial rule, so that although the structure
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565 of the empire, with the Shehu at its apex, was still in exist-

648 ence, British administrative officers made all final policy de-
642 cisions. Since the system of social stratification finds its
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565 support in the political organization of the Kanuri state, and
since that state is no longer the ultimate authority of the
land, one might expect great changes in the social system to-
day. While significant changes have been occurring, the old
system of social stratification has been able to survive, in
certain respects supported and bolstered by British colonial
rule. It continues to shape Kanuri society today and to adapt
itself to new conditions and new demands.

[643] The Shehu and the royal family are still present, and the
Shehu continues to wield political power. Though a British
resident was the ultimate authority, he acted through the Shehu
[829] and the Shehu's council. In the eyes of the Kanuri people,
the Shehu still was the symbol of the Kanuri state, though all
Kanuri recognized that the White man (nasara) was present as
super-authority.

178 Titled nobility are still present, and retain much of
565 their political power since they still control the great ma-
634 jority of District Headships. It is striking to note how many
Ajias, who replaced the chimas of old, are the heads of old
noble families and the present holders of great Kanuri titles,
[829] both slave and free. The descendants of the chimas are the
bulk of the Ajias, so it is not surprising that the talaka con-
tinue to view them as chimas and to use the term in referring
to their present Ajia.

567 Slaves of the Shehu still hold the great slave titles of 178 Kaigama and Kazella, and although slaves are no longer bought [554] and sold, susana still consider themselves slaves and members of the household of present-day nobility. Nobles still continue to have chirs, and slaves ask permission of their masters before marrying.

178 It is among the great mass of talaka that the greatest 565 changes have been occurring. New avenues to increased social 555 importance have made their appearance in the last two decades. There are ways to attain political power today that previously [666] were unavailable to talaka. Election to public office at the local, regional, or national level is becoming increasingly possible for talaka, and there are a number of individuals who have become powerful and important in recent years, despite their talaka background. Education has made possible the rapid rise of individuals of talaka background. They have risen in power and in prestige because of their education, and the specialized occupations which education has enabled them to practice. In many cases they have also been able to use their position as educated professional people to make successful careers in Provincial and regional politics, thereby acquiring political power. 178 Finally, trade with the Western world has opened up new 556 avenues to accumulation of capital on the part of the trading 565 441 class of talaka, many of whom today are extremely wealthy individuals; and though this does not imply that an entirely new class of people has arisen in Kanuri society, it does mean that segments of one class of Kanuri society find themselves more

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441 wealthy and more powerful than at any previous time in Kanuri history.

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565 The old system of stratification was a rigid system. Present conditions have led to increased flexibility in the stratification system, by providing new avenues to power, to wealth and to prestige. This has meant that the relationship between categories of individuals within Kanuri society today is changed from the relationship which they maintained in former times. [121] These changes in the social structure become a focus of attention of the present study.

[p. 113-A]

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Chapter III

The Community of Geidam

[GEIDAM]

121 The previous chapter has been devoted to an overall view of Kanuri culture, against which the recent changes brought about by contact with the industrial Western world can be measured. It is apparent that this description, which attempts to provide the general features of the culture, is primarily of what has been called ideal culture. It is generalized, highly abstract and frequently derives from statements by informants about how the 'good Kanuri' acts in various types of situation.

An anthropologist customarily studies a community, which occupies the focus of his analytical attention. From his study of a particular community, he makes judgments concerning behavior which he considers to be idiosyncratic for that community, selects out and discounts atypical aspects of the culture which are represented by his community, in order to arrive at a statement about the larger patterns of the culture with which he is concerned. In the study of small homogeneous cultures, it was usually not important to distinguish between the two processes since small total size and homogeneity meant that there were little or no differences between various communities. What held for one camp, one lineage, or one settlement, undoubtedly held for all. In the study of more complex cultures to which anthropologists have turned in the recent decades, of which the Kanuri are an example, it is imperative to recognize the dis-
[184] tinctions drawn here. Kanuri culture is large and heterogeneous, and has only the most incidental resemblance to an American Indian tribe or to an isolated Pacific island, the "type cul-

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121 184 [103] tures" which have served as models for the anthropologist. The Kanuri have had a powerful conquest state, a market economy, and a stratified society. These larger sociological characteristics have brought about sub-cultural differences, which have both vertical and horizontal manifestations. The vertical segments of Kanuri culture are found in regional variations: Kanuri sub-groups like the Manga, Mobber and Buduwai. Horizontal [369] segments inhere in the rigid class system. The distinction between rural and urban manifestations of Kanuri culture are both vertical and horizontal in nature: vertical in that towns and villages represent geographically distinct units, horizantal in that towns and cities are a reflection of political and economic complexity, and townsmen share in a common sub-culture wherever they are located.

121 Given the complexity of Kanuri culture noted above, it is imperative that the observer describe a particular community rather than Kanuri culture as a whole. It is necessary, first of all, to discuss the particular nature of the community which he studied, to define it within the various dimensions which have been set forth as guide lines for Kanuri culture generally. The problem which has provided the orientation for the present study will be presented within the cultural context of a single community. While the writer feels that the approach suggested here is valid for culture contact situations generally, he realizes that the initial level of generalization requires him to move from a discussion of a particular community, with its own

[GEIDAM]

121 individual character, to an entire culture, many times the size of his single community.

The present study is, then, a community study, as must [101] usually be the case in the study of complex societies. The community is the town of Geidam, where the author and his wife lived for one year, from the ending of the rains in 1956 until the rains ceased once again in 1957.

A. The geography and ecology of Geidam.

162 632 Geidam, with its population of 11,032 is one of the largest towns in Bornu Province (see Table I) and represents urban Kanuri 563 culture. The people of the countryside between Geidam and 197 Nguru, some 110 miles to the west, are predominantly Manga, a Kanuri sub-group speaking a Kanuri dialect which differs slightly from Kanuri proper. To the east, towards Damasak, are Mobber, 101 197 another sub-group. In the town of Geidam, however, the towns- [369] folk are Kanuri, and speak standard Kanuri. This is primarily because urban Kanuri in Geidam have more in common with urban Kanuri coming from other large towns and cities, and share more with them than they do with the farming peoples of the small villages surrounding Geidam.

131 Geographically, Geidam lies in the northernmost part of the province, in fact, the northernmost part of Nigeria, since the border separating Nigeria from the independent country of 133 Niger is only twenty miles north. The land is a flat sandy [137] plain, with scrub vegetation, which becomes increasingly more

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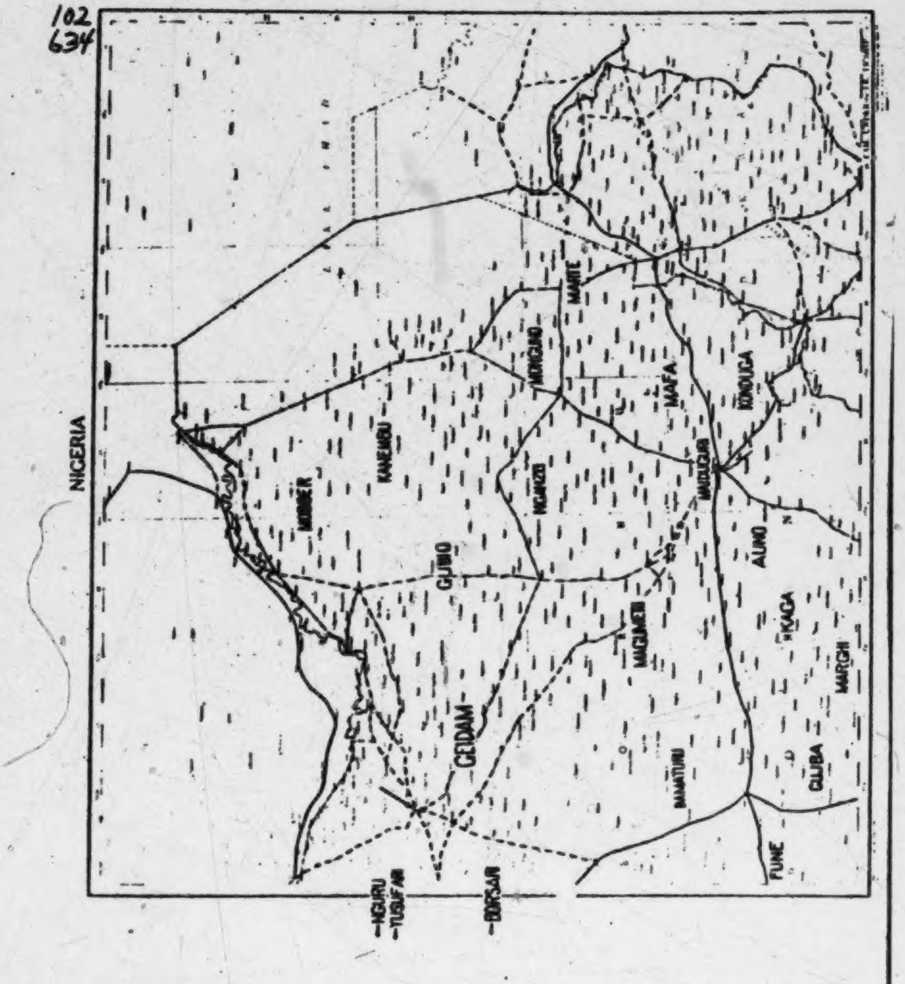
NIGERIA
MOBBER
KANEMBU
GUBIO
GEIDAM
NGURU
YUSUFARI
BORSARI
NGANZEI
MONGUNO
MARTE
MAFA
MAGUMERI
BAMATURU
MAIDUGURI
KONDUGA
AUNO
KAGA
FUNE
GUJBA
MARGHI

Figure 2 - Map of Bornu Province, showing the districts.

[GEIDAM]

133 [137] [162] desert-like as one moves north from Geidam. The population to the north of Geidam continues to be Kanuri (or Manga), but its density declines rapidly as one moves directly north. Geidam lies on the Yobe River, usually referred to as the Komadugu Yobe River, a redundancy since komadugu means river in the Kanuri language. The Yobe is a slowly moving stream that empties into Lake Chad, approximately 100 miles east of Geidam. Many streams and rivers of the north flow for some months after the rains and then dry up completely. The Yobe, however, is large enough to continue to flow the year round. Before the rains it is reduced to a stream thirty or forty feet in width; after the rains the river reaches its flood crest, when it may extend over half a [505] mile in width. Though one could travel from Geidam to Lake Chad on the Yobe River, the Kanuri do not use the river for travel or [172] for commerce. Along the Yobe river, some twenty miles east of Geidam, lie the ruins of Birni Ngazargamo, the ancient capital of the Mais which was sacked by the Fulani. Hence Geidam is not [361] far from the old center of empire. Along the river, and still further on, along the shores of Lake Chad, are numerous villages and towns.

131 [134] The geographic location of Geidam, aside from the drier sandy nature of the land because of its northern location, is significant because of its situation in relation to Maiduguri, 131 633 491 the provincial capital, and to Nguru, the rail-head. Maiduguri, in the center of the province (see Figure 2), is important both because it is the administrative and commercial capital and be-

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633 cause it lies on the main highway connecting Ft. Lamy with Jos. 131 Nguru, in the northwestern corner of the province, is the second 491 [496] largest city in Bornu, and is particularly important because it marks the end of the rail line extending from Lagos via Jos. Geidam is strategically located so that it benefits from trade with both. (see Figure 1) Unpaved roads connect Geidam with Nguru, directly east, and with Maiduguri, to the southeast. It would be about 130 miles from Geidam to Maiduguri if one went by the shortest possible route. The road leads directly south from Geidam, however, and then directly east, and the total distance covered amounts to 170 miles. 131 49 438 Though distances are great and the condition of the roads is very poor, trade is dependent on trucks which are the life-line of the country. Goods come into Geidam by truck from both Maiduguri and Nguru. They are then distributed throughout the countryside by merchants and tradesmen, using camels and donkeys to transport their goods. [366] Since no roads at all lead north into Niger and the Kanuri villages north of Geidam, nor do roads lead east along the Yobe River to the villages and towns there, Geidam is an important regional center of trade and commerce. Its geographic location is therefore an important factor in determining the nature of the community.

B. The Physical Nature of the Community.

491 [366] The road from Maiduguri joins that from Nguru a few miles west of the town (see Figure 3). The sole road connecting Gei-

[GEIDAM]

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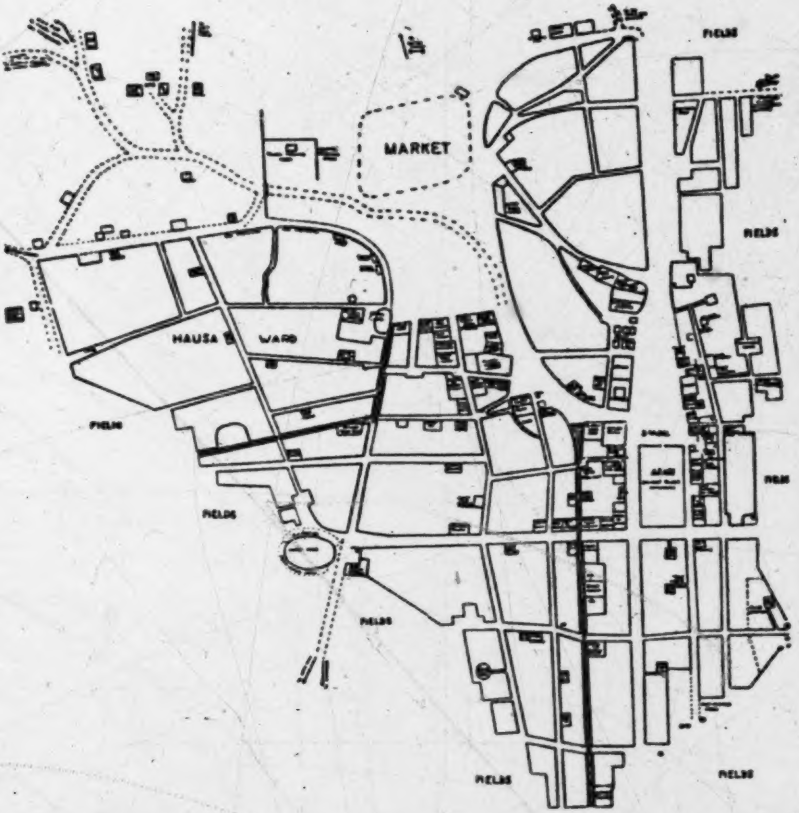
FIELDS
MARKET
FIELDS
HAUSA WARD
FIELDS
FIELDS
SCHOOL
FIELDS
FIELDS
FIELDS
FIELDS

Figure 3 - Map of the town of Geidam.

[GEIDAM]

491 dam with other towns first skirts the several canteens of the
[366] European trading companies as it enters the town, proceeds
across a wide open area of a mile until it reaches the town
361 proper, and terminates in a parking area. The town itself has
no wall, and no sharp boundary line marks its outer edges. In
three directions, south, east, and north, the town is bounded
by fields of millet, which begin immediately after the outlying
compounds end. To the west of the town lies the river Yobe,
but a strip of land about half a mile in width separates the
[244] river from the edges of the town. In that area are to be found
[134] garden plots, since the land along the river is particularly
[366] fertile, and, closer to the town, stock yards, the slaughtering
[232] area, and the cattle market, with its pens. Northwest of the
town is the tiny adjoining village of Koldi.

361 Southwest of the town, and south of the cattle market, is
648 the Government Reserve Area, a section of land reserved by the
colonial administration in every sizeable town and city where
Europeans are supposed to reside. It is physically set apart
from the African town. In this case, the sole government building is the Touring Rest house, over a mile from the town, high on the banks overlooking the Yobe River. Another larger house, remnant of a time when an army unit was stationed here years ago, was rebuilt during the course of the year, and occupied by the Governor-General of Nigeria, Sir James Robertson, during a brief stay in Geidam. The Government Rest House is occupied by British administrative officials in their tours of inspection

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361 648 through the district. There are no European officials permanently stationed in Geidam, though a young Assistant District Officer on his first tour of duty did spend three months in Geidam [366] in the course of the author's year of residence there. Along with the Government Rest House, the Government Reserve Area includes the canteens of the various European trading companies who have offices in Geidam, and the houses of their managers. 361 177 [439] There are six trading companies doing business in Geidam, three under the management of Europeans, and three under African managers. The three Europeans, two Cypriotes and one Greek (formerly a Swiss, then replaced by a Greek), represent the entire White population of Geidam. Two operate branch offices of larger companies; one is in business for himself. The three African managers are in charge of branches of large trading companies, two British (United Africa Company and John Holt) and one French company (Société de la Compagnie de Ouest Afrique). Thus, the small European population of the town, and the agents of the Western world who make their presence most felt, the colonial administration and the trading companies, are physically removed from the people of Geidam. They come periodically to do what they must in the town, and return to their own sections, and people of the town go out to them to deal with them. There is no opportunity for continual, indiscriminate interaction between [114] the Kanuri populace and these agents of the Western world. In order to do anthropological field work in such a situation, it became immediately apparent that it would be necessary to live

[GEIDAM]

114 361 177 in the town proper, in a Kanuri house, since it was obviously impossible to live as all other Europeans did, more than a mile from the Kanuri people, surrounded by fellow White men.

1. Foci of Communal activity.

36 If an archeologist living centuries in the future were to excavate the ruins of Geidam, he would be able to establish from the physical characteristics of the community that this was undoubtedly an urban community, provided that he excavated with great care. He would find a large area, the market-place, devoted to trade; specialized structures devoted to religious activity, in particular the large central mosque; and others devoted to the government bureaucracy, the largest of these being the Ajari, the 'palace' of the District Head. In addition, he would note great differences in the size of dwelling places or compounds, and would infer that households varied widely in size; [463] this would imply social stratification. Lastly, there would be revealed economic specialization in different sections of the town, indicating the presence of specialized craftsmen. On the basis of solely physical evidence, Geidam would be considered an urban community.

This view is strengthened considerably if one looks at the activities of the people of Geidam. However, as we are still concerned with the physical nature of the community, let us first examine the activities of the townspeople in relation to the various sections of the town, which serve as foci of communal activity.

[GEIDAM]

366 The Geidam market-place represents one such focus of communal activity. It is an area 186 yards by 150 yards, with rows of permanent stalls made of grass mats, and occasional trees. 443 People are present in the market every day, buying and selling, but these are few in number and are limited largely to sellers of food staples. Wednesday is market day in Geidam, and on that day, thousands of people crowd the paths and the stalls, chatting, bargaining, buying and selling. People come into Geidam from a radius of ten to fifteen miles to attend the Wednesday market; and literally everyone in the town visits the marketplace on market day at some point during the day.

361 632 As was mentioned earlier, every Kanuri town is built in a "U" pattern around an open plaza, the dandal. The over-all U-pattern is still apparent in Geidam, but since Geidam is a large town whose growth has been uneven, expansion has destroyed the [634] symmetry of the physical plan of the town. The dandal is still very much in evidence, and at its eastern face is the Ajari, the [351] compound of the District Head (Ajia) of Geidam. The dandal leads directly to the gate, or chinna of his compound, which forms a second important focus of communal activity. Much administrative activity occurs in the cleared area before the chinna of the [527] Ajia's compound. In addition, much ceremonial activity, involving displays of horsemanship by the men serving under the Ajia, [526] takes place before the chinna of his house. Many forms of recre- [535] ation, dancing and wrestling, are also held at the head of the dandal, while multitudes of townspeople gather along the borders of the dandal to watch.

[GEIDAM]

ooo of the dandal to watch.

368 788 The central mosque of Geidam also faces on the dandal, along its northern edge. Geidam has several smaller mosques, and although it is not necessary for a Moslem to go to the mosque to pray, Friday prayers at 2 PM (Duar) have become communal prayers. At that time almost the entire adult male community of Geidam gathers to pray. The mosque itself will hold only a small portion of the community, no more than 300 or so. All others gather under the shade of trees which line the northern and southern edges of the dandal, and while the Liman leads prayers in the mosque itself, all go through the ritual positions of prayer in unison following his lead. On the Friday Sabbath, the mosque and the dandal become the focus of attention.

368 Along the dandal, to the right and left of the entrance-way to the Ajari, are a number of buildings housing branches of the administration of the town. On the northern edge is the police charge-office, the court, and the community reading room. The courthouse serves daily as a center of activity. On the southern edge are the police barracks, the prison, the dispensary and [554] the primary school. Along with these compounds housing various types of officialdom are to be found the compounds of several important men whose gateways also face out onto the dandal.

The dandal, leading up to the chinna of the political head of a town, is the traditional political center of that town. Just as the market-place serves as the focus of all local commerce, the dandal serves as the focus of political, ceremonial and religious activity.

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OOO and religious activity.

2. Wards and Neighborhoods.

632 [634] Since the town of Geidam is the administrative center of Geidam District, the Ajia of Geidam is the central political figure in the town. A town itself, however, is administered by a Lowan. Formerly, Geidam had one Lowan; however, as the town grew in size, it was subdivided into wards (nguro). Geidam has three wards, and each has its own Lowan. Each of the wards has its own character, and although many activities have reference to the town of Geidam as a whole, other activities are limited [563] to a ward, or centered within a particular ward. Two of the wards are almost entirely Kanuri and have Kanuri Lowans; the third is predominantly Hausa and has a Hausa Lowan.

The "U" of the town surrounding the dandal represents the center of the old town and is solidly Kanuri. This is the ward of Lowan Ashek, a kabuna of the Ajia. Political and administrative activities of a higher order center in Lowan Ashek's ward. The overwhelming majority of the Ajia's kabuna (47 of the 54 kabuna) live there. A small section of the river area falls under his jurisdiction as well since his ward stretches [732] westward to include the river-edge. At the northeastern tip of Lowan Ashek's ward is the section where the blind live.

The second Kanuri ward is under Lowan Kolo Kolo, who also is a kabuna of the Ajia. His ward is largely but not entirely Kanuri. Under his jurisdiction is the market and most of the

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632 river. The compounds of several wealthy Hausa traders face the
[563] market-place in the western end of Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward. The
[463] butchers, who are almost all Hausa and have a Hausa head-man,
are within Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward but fall under the jurisdiction of the Hausa Lowan.

632 The third ward making up the town of Geidam has only a
563 sprinkling of Kanuri living there. It is the most populous
ward of the three and is predominantly Hausa. Its Lowan is
Serakin Garba, a prominent member of the Hausa community. This
ward has been growing most rapidly in recent years, and the direction of expansion has been south and west, where whole new
sections have grown up. Along the western border of the town,
stretching southward, live all the Ibos and Yorubas, Southern
Nigerians and predominantly Christian, numbering several hundred.
[366] A string of small canteens run by Ibos and Yorubas faces the
[368] western border. In this ward is to be found the church for
[273] Christian members of the Geidam community, and the Charity Hotel
where beer is sold.

632 Ethnic stratification is very marked in Geidam. All south-
563 erners, Ibos and Yorubas, live in the Hausa ward along with almost the entire Hausa population of Geidam. Only a scattering
632 of Hausas are found in the Kanuri wards. Within the Kanuri wards
563
167 are found small clusters of other tribes, notably Bouzous and
Dagara, serfs of the Tuareg who come down into the settled plains
area to towns like Geidam, where they work at menial jobs for
periods of time. When they have accumulated some money they re-

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632 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at
563
167 camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab
area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come
[162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up
to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet
621 called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper.
[162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula-
[622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves
[651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection
632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kərdi), and mem-
621
563 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka-
177 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most
of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River,
whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the
shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of
[302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in
the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly accul-
turated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in
[771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude
[275] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet
beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri
youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip
[534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the
632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all
621
[243] have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition
[285]
[463]

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632
621 they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (səgdis). Eco-
[243]
[illegible] nomic specialization along ethnic lines is a common character-
[463] istic of the area.

632 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for
463 differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is
563 found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those
who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are
small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers
are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together
in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters
who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area.
632 The people of Koldi make səgdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups
463 specializing in a single economic activity are also found living
[732] together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For
[283] example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as
[621] an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their
[622] own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the
blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the
Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized
[281] in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific
[285] areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Crafts-
[323] men who make the fine sitting mat (bəji), potters and well-diggers
are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen,
[441] however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen
[735] are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars
are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna
tend to live in one ward.

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000 tend to live in one ward.

632 The net effect of the clustering of specialized groups
571 within certain wards is to create sub-communities or neighborhoods
621 within each ward. A neighborhood may comprise people who
are ethnically alike, or people who practice the same trade, or
both. The bond between neighbors, who live in adjacent or
nearby compounds, is strengthened by the second bond of practicing
the same trade. Neighborhoods are groupings within wards,
within which patterns of friendship and visiting tend to occur
[576] with high frequency. A common Kanuri greeting is, "How is your
[430] ward?" On a religious feast day a wealthy man distributes charity
to the people of his neighborhood. A bond exists between
people of one ward who now find themselves living in a different
town. A person will often say, "I know him very well. We're
from the same ward. I watched him grow up." These are all examples
of recognition that the neighborhood and the ward are
[622] social units which are significant in everyday life. In addition,
[181] since Kanuri life is so structured and hierarchical, craftsmen
and tradesmen are frequently organized under a head. The
compound of the headman of a group then become the focal point
of a neighborhood, just as the compound of each Lowan is the
center of his ward.

C. Economy on the Communal Level.

128 The economic activities of the people of Geidam will be discussed in this section, in contrast to the Kanuri economy gen-

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128 erally which was discussed in the previous chapter. At times,
[125] quantitative data will be presented on a sample of 44 individuals,
representing various selected social categories (see further
definition of this sample given in Chapter 4).

1. Farming.

42 All land belongs, in theory, to the Shehu and is distributed
by Lowans through the authority given them by the Shehu. A man
living in the town of Geidam has a right to land surrounding the
town, should he wish to make a farm. Such land becomes his in
the sense that no one else can farm there, and it is inherited
[651] by his children like other forms of property. Any man who pays
the property tax (haraji) in Geidam has a right to land. A newcomer to the town who desires land to farm asks a Lowan for a
[311] plot of land. Since all farm land up to two miles from the edge
of the town is farmed by those previously settled in the town,
land given to newcomers is uncleared brush far from the town itself.
[662] However, by paying a sum to the Lowan, a man may be assigned land which is much closer and therefore more desirable.
Unused sites become available when people leave Geidam.

House sites come under the same provisions as farm land.
If a man wishes to build a house in Geidam he must first ask
the permission of the Lowan in whose ward he seeks to build his
house. If he wishes to build on unoccupied land he must pay a
[435] sum to the Lowan. The sum may vary from three to ten shillings,
depending on the man's means. A man can sell a house which he

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42 has built, as it was built through his labor or his money.
[435] Since there is great pressure for desirable house sites, an old
house which is no longer worth much but is located on a good
site will be sold for an amount far exceeding the value of the
house itself. To all intents and purposes the owner is selling
42 the land on which the house stands. Fishing sites along the
226 river are under the "ownership" of the Lowans, and sites are
given to people to use. Fishing sites are inherited but may
not be sold.

425 As was pointed out earlier, land is increasingly viewed as
178 a commodity which can be bought and sold. Original Kanuri
ideas about land have been undergoing change. Just as house
sites within the town are sold, so too farm land is sold under
425 certain conditions. The legality of these proceedings, accord-
671
[651] ing to Kanuri law, is still somewhat vague. A stranger coming
to Geidam will be given land to farm only if he intends to re-
main in Geidam and will pay his haraji there. A Geidam man who
moves elsewhere, and does not intend to return, will consequently
be paying his haraji in the new town where he will settle. He
[427] forfeits the rights which he held to farmland in Geidam. Nor
may he sell that land except under special conditions. However,
one Geidam man may give, rent or sell his farm land to another
Geidam man. Both, of course, continue to pay haraji in Geidam.
According to the Alkali of Geidam, sale of farm land is legally
viewed in the following manner: if a man's father worked a piece
of land and he in turn inherited that land, his possession of the

425 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he
671 wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for
425 ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal
695 case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the
Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the
land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a suf-
ficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and
forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by
the new owner.

241 Land is farmed under a variety of conditions. Talaka farm
565 the land themselves with the help of wives and children. A
592 wealthy man, however, may take a very large section of farm
land from the Lowan, which he will not work personally. Instead
the members of his household, his many tata njima, farm his land
for him. His tata njima work on the farm of the [illegible]ousehold head
[465] because this is one o[illegible] duties. They receiv[illegible] no payment
241 in the form of a share [illegible]he crops for their labor. Some
565 wealthy men may not have very large households of their own, and
464 [178] may hire day laborers to work for them. This, too, is a new ap-
241 proach to labor for the Kanuri. A man with a very large farm
427 who does not intend to use all of his land himself can rent out
sections, particularly if his land is in a very favorable loca-
tion. The renter pays a fixed sum to the owner, and the crops
belong entirely to him. No form of share-cropping is practiced.
241 The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him.
634 [423] Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to

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241 him, are given land from that belonging to the Ajia, should they
634 desire to farm for themselves. Such a plot may be in a more
[554] or less desirable location depending on the man's importance
and his rank. Many of the Ajia's kabuna have their own plots
241 which they farm. In addition, the Ajia has his own personal
643 farm close to Geidam, which is worked exclusively by his kabuna.
466 All kabuna, important and minor ones alike, under the supervision of the Ajia's Assistant (Wakil) farm the Ajia's land for him.

Table II

Percentage of people in Geidam who farm

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565
554

	Yes	No	Farmed last year
Aristocracy	3	2	1 did; 1 not for 15 yrs.
Koranic Malams	2	1	no
Canteen traders	6	0	
N. A. Malams	3	1	farmed last year--only in Geidam 1 1/2 mons.
Kabuna	1	5	3 did; 2 didn't
Craftsmen	3	0	
Talaka	3	4	1 did; 3 didn't
Low-status	2	2	1 did; 1 didn't
Total:	23	15	7 did; 8 didn't farm last year

Not all the people of Geidam farm. As may be seen from Table II, 23 of 38 individuals questioned had a farm of their own (61 per cent); 15 did not have a farm (39 per cent). Although all who live permanently in Geidam and pay taxes there

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241
565 are entitled to farm land, not all actually farm. Slightly
554 more than half of the talaka, craftsmen, and low-status people
463
[462] in the sample farm; these all farm their own plots assisted by their wives, the typical pattern of farming for lower class people. The canteen traders, a group of prosperous individuals with large households, all have a farm, though none farm themselves. Their farms are worked for them by their tata njima, or by hired laborers. Only one of the kabuna in the sample farms for himself, though of course they all farm for the Ajia on his farm. Finally, it can be seen that the pattern of farming is not absolutely regular each year. Seven of the fifteen individuals who had not made a farm that year had farmed the
241 previous year. Most of the people of Geidam do farm, but none
433 depend entirely on farming for their living and since farming is a secondary activity for all, they may omit farming on a given year, and may rent their land to someone else. Still others have entirely given up farming.

2. Craftsmen.

463 The economy of an urban community depends primarily on its specialists. These may be considered as falling within three broad categories. The first category is made up of artisans, that is, skilled workers who produce a product which the ordinary man cannot easily make for himself, or who perform a service requiring special skills which are beyond the abilities of every citizen. These will be referred to here as craftsmen. The sec-

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The second category is the tradesmen. They depend less on a special craft ability than on their general skills in buying and selling at a profit. Through their knowledge of the operation of the economic system they assist in the distribution of goods, and earn their livelihood by taking for themselves a percentage of the value of goods which pass through their hands. The tradesmen and the craftsmen are two specialized groups within the social system of the town of Geidam whose activities are largely centered within the economic sphere of Kanuri culture. The third category of specialists typically found in an urban community are specialists in maintaining the bureaucracy, and though there is an economic component to their activities, these fall more properly within a consideration of the political organization, so that discussion of the role of this group of specialists will be deferred. 463 441 463

Table III lists the major types of craftsmen found in Geidam, and notes in addition whether they are organized under a single head, whether they are localized in one section of the town, and the extent of their participation in the market. The seventeen types of craftsmen listed in Table III are all full-time specialists. They are highly skilled at their craft, and no Geidam man would attempt to perform for himself the services, or to manufacture the products, which the craftsmen supply. Eight crafts in Geidam are each organized under a single head. The head of a craft group such as the barbers, or the butchers, is appointed by the Ajia of Geidam and is given a kulugu as a mark of office. 463 467 [292]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 138]

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Table III

Major Types of Craftsmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	In market: works	sells
Barber	●			●	●	●
Blacksmith	●			●	●	●
Bəji-maker		●	●			●
Butcher	●		●		●	●
Calabash decorator		●		●		●
Dyer	●		●			
Fishermen	●			●		
House builder		●		●		
Leather-worker		●		●	●	●
Potter		●	●			●
Praise-singer	●		●			
Səgdi-maker		●	●			●
Sewing machine operator	●			●	●	●
Shoemaker		●		●		●
Tanner	●		●			●
Well-digger		●	●			
Wood-worker		●		●	●	●

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463 467 His primary function is to adjudicate disputes between members of his craft group. Some types of craftsmen are not represented in sufficient numbers in Geidam to warrant a head man. This is true, for example, of the house builders of Geidam, who are not organized under a head man, though in Maiduguri the house builders are so organized.

463 467 621 [563] [474] About half of the draftsmen live in neighborhoods where that type of craft activity is localized. For some (butchers and səgdi-makers), this is because their craft is linked to an ethnic group; for others it is because the physical practice of that craft demands the use of communal pits (tanners) or vats (dyers). Still others, however, cluster together in neighborhoods because of social factors which tend to bring them together so that they form an organized segment of the society; but many craftsmen live interspersed with other sorts of people throughout the town.

463 443 Most craftsmen are involved in the activities of the market-place, where all those who deal with a product sell what they have made. Many also work in the market-place as well, and make their product to order for the waiting customer. Only the dyers, well-diggers, househuilders, fishermen and praise-singers have no connection with the market. All of course also work outside of the market-place; in fact most of their work is done in the homes, where one can always go for any specialized aspect of their services.

463 Table IV lists a second category of craftsmen. These are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 140]

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Table IV

Less Specialized Craftsmen in the Geidam Economy

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	In Market: works	sells
Beggars		*		*		
Charm sellers		*		*		*
Grooms		*		*		
Hair setters		*		*		
Hunters		*		*		
Transporters		*	*			
Water carriers		*	*			
Wood cutters		*	*			*

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463 distinguished from the first group of craftsmen included in Table III because of two factors: their craft requires less skill, and they are typically part-time specialists. As such, they fall mid-way between the craftsmen and the "talaka" of
463 Geidam who are not specialists at all. None of the less spe-
467 cialized craftsmen are organized under a head man. This is
443 because their skills are much less developed and because they have less to do with the market. The market itself is a highly organized institution, and most individuals who deal regularly in the market are organized into structured groups according to the type of activity in which they are engaged. As can be seen from Table IV, only the charm sellers and the wood cutters sell their products in the market; the remaining craftsmen sell their
[621] services directly in the town. Only the transporters, the wa-
[563] ter carriers, and the wood cutters live in localized neighborhoods, and the first two specialities are practiced by distinct ethnic groups.

3. Tradesmen:

463 The second major category of economic specialists in the
441 town of Geidam is that of the tradesmen. They too are typically urban specialists who make their living through the distribution of goods, and since the town of Geidam is an important center for the exchange and marketing of goods, many of the townspeople devote themselves entirely to trade. Most are engaged in the buying and selling of a single commodity or group of related

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463 commodities; some are wholesalers and others are retailers;
441 some are very wealthy men dealing in large quantities of goods while others buy and sell small amounts and count their profits in pennies. Some, as will be seen, center their trade activities in the market-place; others are never involved in trade in the market, but do their buying and selling entirely in private homes or in canteens.

463 The Kanuri recognize many distinctions in the types of
441 trade in which one may be engaged. These distinctions are re-
192 flected in their vocabulary. Four general types of tradesmen
[452] are recognized: balasma (or ribama)--one who buys and sells at a profit (riba means profit), paying for the goods, which were originally obtained on credit, after the sale; sabarma--one who buys in one place, pays for his goods in cash, then takes them elsewhere and sells them at a profit (saber means trade); dilelma--a broker or commission agent (dilel means commission). The dilelma arranges sales between prospective buyer and prospective seller and takes his commission from one or the other, depending on who first contacted him, and for whom he is attempting to obtain the most favorable price. Lastly, the fatoma is a dilelma who operates in a large town, from his house, as is indicated by the name fatoma (fato means house). People coming into town with goods to sell, primarily livestock, are accommodated in the fatoma's house while he seeks out prospective buyers, arranges for the sale at the best possible price, and takes a commission from the sale-price paid to his guest, the seller.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 142]

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000 seller.

441 Table V lists the major types of tradesmen in Geidam, ac-
438 cording to the type of goods in which they specialize. Re-
439 tailers and wholesalers have been grouped together, and as can
443
442 be seen from the table, though most are involved in selling in
the market-place, five of the types of tradesmen are not engaged
in selling in the market at all. The brokers who sell cows,
horses, sheep, and goats are all dilelma. Minor brokers who
deal in cattle, or in sheep and goats, work in the market-place
[554] Wealthier and more important dilelma dealing in the same goods
are fatoma, and do not do business in the market at all. Rath-
441 er, their trade centers around their houses. All the fatoma
in Geidam dealing in cattle, and almost all fatoma are involved
in the cattle trade, are clustered around the house of Lowan
Kolo Kolo, who was a fatoma in cattle himself before he became
[556] a Lowan. There are about ten such fatoma, all wealthy men, in
Geidam. A smaller number of dilelma dealing in sheep and goats,
three in all, own houses close to one another in another section
of town; another group of four or five dilelma in horses are
clustered in their own neighborhood. Good horses are rarely
sold in the open market, so that dilelma in horses arrange their
sales on an individual basis, away from the market-place. The
hide sellers are the only other group of tradesmen who are lo-
calized within a single neighborhood.

According to Table V, the various tradesmen tend to be organized under a head man, whose functions are identical to

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Table V

Major Types of Tradesmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	sells in market	sells outside
Brokers:						
sell cows	*		*		*	*
sheep/goats	*		*		*	*
horses	*		*			*
Canteen operators		*		*		*
Gown sellers	*			*	*	
Grain sellers	*			*	*	*
Hide sellers	*		*		*	*
Kola nut sellers:						
wholesalers	*			*		*
retailers	*			*	*	*
Money-lenders		*		*		*
Peanut sellers		*		*		*
Sundry sellers:						
traditional	*			*	*	
Western goods		*		*	*	
Tobacco-flower sellers	*			*	*	

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441 those of the head of a group of craftsmen. Ten of the fourteen
441 types of tradesmen are organized under a head man. Of the four
443 types who are not so organized, three are not involved in activities in the market-place, which supports the view put forth above, that the structure of the market itself is reflected in the organization of groups whose activities center there.. Five types of tradesmen have nothing at all to do with the market-place, and three of these are not organized with a head.
441 But a second related factor can be seen operating as well.
177 This is particularly apparent when one compares the two sorts of "sundry" sellers. One, the *fətkema*, sells only traditional Kanuri goods. The other, the *tabərma*, sells a variety of sorts of Western goods. Both sell in the market-place. The fətkema are organized under a head man; the tabərma are not organized. It would appear that tradesmen who deal in goods imported from the Western world tend not to be organized as a group with their own head. Turning once again to the four types of tradesmen who are not organized, the tabərma fall into this category, as do the canteen operators who are primarily engaged in trade with the European trading companies, and the peanut traders who buy up peanuts for sale to the trading companies.
[452] Money-lenders, the fourth unorganized type of tradesman, fall
[779] into a different category since they practice an illicit oc-
463 cupation, forbidden by Islamic law. The organization of groups
467 of urban specialists under a single head with quasi-political
441 authority to resolve disputes within the group would appear to
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463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 177 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
178 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the
market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[491] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

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44 438 ably 5,000 people present at one time in the market-place in the early afternoon hours when the peak of trade is reached, and this at a time of year when market activity is subdued. [492] In the area set aside for pack and riding animals there were: 36 camels, 60 cows (used by the Shuwa Arabs as beasts of burden), 56 horses, and approximately 300 donkeys.

The sellers in the market-place occupy the same stalls each week, and all those selling the same commodity occupy a common area in the market-place. A breakdown of the sellers in the Geidam market reveals the following:

1. a) 558 sellers of food-stuff.

Meat - 15 butchers; 5 dried meat sellers; 32 dried fish sellers.

Vegetables - 59 cassava; 43 onions; 33 kalkua (kuka leaves); 42 peanuts, 31 crushed peanuts with oil removed.

Grain - 49 millet; 6 wheat; 6 rice.

[563] Butter - 25 Fulani women sellers.

Others - fresh vegetables, yams, lemons, cucumber, okra, squash, beans, and cooked foods eaten at the market.

b) 55 sellers of live animals.

It is difficult to estimate the number of sellers, as each does not sit before his produce, but there were 152 sheep and goats for sale, and 20 horses, young colts and elderly nags. Cattle are not sold at the Wednesday market; the cattle market is held twice a week in a separate area.

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44 2. a) 126 sellers of clothing.

438 Cloth - 70 sellers who sell bolts of cloth by the yard, and who also sell finished garments. Many have a man in their stall operating a sewing machine, making up clothing.

[439] Shoes - 26 sellers, including those selling Kanuri shoes, Western shoes made of rubber, sandals of cow-hide or rubber tires.

Hats - 10 sellers.

b) 180 sellers of household articles.

Almost all of these are Kanuri-made. They include: beds, mattresses, pillows, woven baskets of many shapes and sizes, calabashes - decorated and plain, wooden bowls, pottery cups, cooking pots and storage vessels, sleeping and sitting mats (bajis) - both plain and multi-colored. [439] Enamel-ware bowls and dishes, buckets, and blankets are the only imported goods; they are sold by ten sellers.

c) 75 Craftsmen.

[326] [305] [282] [322] [294] Craftsmen selling their services and their products in the market include: blacksmiths (selling knives, hoe and ax blades, swords, horse bits, spurs etc.), barbers shaving heads, leather workers (selling knife sheaths, covered Koranic charms and Koran bags, saddle straps etc.), woodworkers (handles for axes and hoes, Koranic writing boards), carpenters who make Western items, sewing machine operators.

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44
438 d) 71 sellers of raw materials.

Tanned hides and skins, raw cotton for making thread, raffia from which baskets are made. There were approximately 35 sellers of bundles of grass used for making bəjis.

3. a) 118 sellers of condiments.

73 pepper sellers, 21 potash sellers, 6 sellers of Kanuri salt.

[439] 16 sellers of imported European salt, 2 sellers of sugar.

b) 165 sellers of stimulants.

77 kola nut sellers, 81 tobacco-flower (fəle) sellers, 7 sellers of tobacco used for chewing.

c) 92 sundry sellers.

46 fətkema, selling: cloves, garlic, antimony, antimony cases, incense, pepper, beads, bracelets, pins, needles, hair-picks, dye, mirrors - all traditional Kanuri items.

[439] 46 tabərma, selling: perfume, flashlight batteries, matches, kerosene, and other imported Western items.

d) 37 sellers of miscellaneous items.

[732] These include sellers of rope (made by the blind), salt for curing hides, fodder for horses, henna used to dye hands and feet, charms (sold by a pagan charm-seller), candy (alewa), silver for the manufacture of jewelry, horse trappings - saddles, saddle cloths, leads, whips, stirrups, etc.

Total number of sellers: 1, 477.

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44 From an overall examination of the sorts of goods sold
438 in the Geidam market, one can draw the following conclusions.
433 More than one-third of the sellers are involved in the retailing
of a wide variety of foodstuffs, most of it grown, collected
[563] or prepared by the seller himself. In some cases they are
vegetables (onions) grown on garden plots for sale, in others
they are types of leaves (kuka leaves gathered by Shuwa or
Buduwai women) collected for the market, or a specialized
product in which a group deals (butter sold by Fulani women).
[462] Dried fish were caught by fishermen and smoke-dried by women
who now sell them in the market. Fully another third of the
sellers are engaged in the sale of clothing or household goods,
of which an overwhelming proportion have been manufactured by
Kanuri craftsmen. They sew the clothing, make hats, shoes and
the entire range of household goods noted above. Included
within this category are the suppliers of raw materials to the
craftsmen: grass for mats, raffia for baskets, tanned skins,
etc.; also the craftsmen themselves who work to order in the
44 market-place. The only exceptions to the locally made items
438 which predominate in the area of clothing and household goods
439 are cloth, which is no longer locally woven and represents perhaps
the single most important imported item, and items like
enamelware and buckets. Of the slightly less than one-third
of the sellers that remains to be accounted for, sellers of
condiments, stimulants and sundry and miscellaneous items, most
sell typically local Kanuri items. The tabarma sells imported

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44 goods, and European salt and sugar are also imported. Lastly,
438
439 kola nuts are not locally grown and must be imported.

[177] Of the 1477 sellers in the Geidam market, only 226 (15 per
[226] cent) sell imported items; 77 of these sell kola nuts, and
this will be discussed separately; 70 sell cloth or clothing,
traceable to the disappearance of weaving as a local craft when
Western cloth first appeared; 46 are tabərma. The remaining
44 33 sell salt, enamelware and rubber shoes. It is apparent
438 therefore that the Geidam market is essentially a local market,
serving the local community which includes the town of Geidam
itself and smaller villages within a radius of perhaps fifteen
[492] miles. Villagers come into Geidam on foot, on horse, with
donkeys and with camels, bringing with them local produce, such
as foodstuff or livestock and locally made wares, which they
sell in the market, buying in turn the products made by Geidam
craftsmen. Merchants selling in the Geidam market are all
small-scale retailers, sabərma, according to the Kanuri, who
buy someplace and sell elsewhere at a profit. Many of these
sabərma transport their stock of goods from one weekly market
to another, using a donkey or a camel. About twenty miles east
of Geidam is the town of Digeltera, often called Səbdə (Saturday) because its market-day is Saturday. Other surrounding
towns form loosely integrated market rings with alternating
market days so that the itinerant sabərma can visit them each
44 in turn with his goods. Since Geidam is reached by roads from
438
439 both Maiduguri and Nguru, goods imported from the West are

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44 438 439 shipped into Geidam. This sort of trade, it will be shown, does not center in the market-place, but goods entering in this fashion do eventually reach the market. Cloth, enamelware, and everything sold by the tabərma are all imported into Nigeria, but they pass through many Kanuri hands before reaching these retailers in the market-place. Sabərma from other small towns come into Geidam to buy these things and resell them in their own towns, and sabərma from Geidam go out to the small towns and villages with their goods.

44 438 439 563 The character of the Geidam market as a local market can also be seen in the interaction of various cultural groups within the market. Peoples of many cultures can be found living in Geidam. Neither Fulani or Shuwa Arabs, however, are found in the town itself. Both come into Geidam on market day to sell particular items with which they are associated and to buy necessities for themselves. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa Arabs are semi-nomadic pastoralists who come into towns solely to exchange their goods for those made by the townspeople; both sell cattle and dairy products. Fulani men sell cows, bows and arrows, and distinctively decorated calabashes; Fulani women sell butter, soured milk, woven baskets and basket covers in a separate section of the market-place devoted to their products. The Fulani buy cassava, crushed groundnuts, [415] sugar, gowns, hats, shoes, kola nuts, and tobacco. Like the Fulani, the Shuwa sell cows and butter, but the specialties of the Shuwa include the leaves of the kuka tree which their wom-

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44 en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as
438
439 the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy
563 Kanuri-style gowns, bəjis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Last-
[815] ly, Buduwal, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the Geldam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 External trade remains to be considered. This is the
439
177 process through which Western goods, imported by the European trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri. As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

44 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to whole-
439
177 salers, wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily re-
952 ceive quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth is sold. Consequently these men are baləsma in Kanuri terms.
[556] Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in
[592] large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households,
[571] and have a great many relatives, and tata njima attached to them. The tata njima farm for them, and many transact business for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

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44 439 177 452 tant towns where no trading companies are located, and in the surrounding villages that are not large enough to support canteens and shops of their own. When goods are distributed and sold in this fashion, the balasma pays off the debt which he has accumulated at the trading company with which he deals, and acquires new stocks of goods which have since arrived -- new cotton prints, organdy and rayon.
44 439 177 Small traders, sabərma, who are unable to establish a good credit rating and therefore cannot deal directly with the European companies, come to the Kanuri canteens and buy cloth in small quantities which they resell in the market-place or in other villages. The retailers of cloth in the market-place are therefore tradesmen of a different sort from the operators of the canteens, and it is in the hands of these canteen traders that external trade lies.

Like cloth, all other imported goods which eventually find their way to the market-place get there at the end of a process of breaking of bulk which centers in the shops and canteens. Items like flashlight batteries, kerosene lanterns, kerosene, matches, enamelware and perfume are bought in bulk by the shopkeepers directly from the trading companies who import them
[563] through their central offices in Kano and Lagos. The latter type of goods is handled largely by Ibo and Yoruba traders who operate small canteens in the Hausa ward, though some Kanuri canteens also deal in such merchandise. The Ibo and Yoruba shop-keepers sell goods directly in their small shops, and also sell to tabərma. Tabərma, who are Kanuri, further break

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44 down the packages in which goods arrive, selling bundles of
439
177 matches tied together or coca-cola bottles filled with kerosene, from their tables in the market-place.

[244] The export goods of the Geidam area are groundnuts, cow-
[237] hides, sheep and goat skins and gum arabic. The same Euro-
[314] pean trading companies that import the various sorts of goods
mentioned above also handle the exports of the region, and the
same network of Kanuri and Hausa tradesmen is involved in the
collection and sale of peanuts and hides and skins to the trading companies, save that some tradesmen specialize entirely in
dealing in hides and skins, while others deal only in ground-
44 nuts. Many of the important canteen owners also buy groundnuts
439
452 as agents of the particular company from which they buy cloth,
244 once the harvest season begins. This trade, too, involves the
use of large amounts of credit which the trading company extends
to its list of reliable and wealthy Kanuri traders (baləsma)
who have been dealing with the same company for many seasons.
Long before the groundnuts are harvested, the agents of a Kanuri trader, trusted members of his household and relatives,
go out into the countryside giving cash to the farmers who thus
pledge their entire crop to a particular trader. When the crop
is harvested, most of it goes directly to Kanuri middlemen who
have distributed the cash advanced to them by the European
trading companies, and through them the groundnuts come into
[648] the hands of the trading companies. Eventually the entire
groundnut crop of Northern Nigeria is sold to the Groundnut

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44 Marketing Board for whom the trading companies act as agents.
439 The Kanuri trader who brings in a large share of the groundnut
452 crop in the Geidam area to the particular trading company
244 [476] which has extended credit to him receives a commission and is
[465] assured that he will again receive credit from that company in the coming year. If he has succeeded in bringing in large amounts of groundnuts, he will receive more money to work with in the coming year. If he has not done well, or if the money advanced to him has been squandered by his "people" (usually the members of his household), then his credit will suffer and may even be entirely eliminated. Should that happen, his entire household would suffer.

44 Hides and skins and gum arabic are bought by Kanuri traders
439 and sold to the trading companies in the same manner, except
452 237 that there is no government Marketing Board dealing in these commodities so that the trading companies are not protected against a drop in the market price. Kanuri traders dealing in hides and skins work with a single company and are advanced cash by that company for purchases. Through their "men", who buy hides directly at the slaughtering area, these wealthy traders deliver the hides and skins to the trading company.
[314] Gum arabic is of lesser importance, and not all the European companies deal in it. If the world market price is high, they will make greater efforts to obtain a large portion of the crop.

44 This is the trade network through which the Kanuri economy
439 articulates with the world economy, and in particular with the
177

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Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a 44
series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy 439 177
Kanuri traders have established with the European trading companies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who 44
fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and importance. 439 554 452
At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the heads of large households. At the other end are the small retailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit, who travel from market to market with their goods for sale.

6. Internal trade.

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type 44 439
of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade. 276
The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women, adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported in bulk [494]
by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geidam by truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, [435]
the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the season, much more widely than any other item sold in the market. Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at a time are called goroma; ~~they sell only~~ in bulk. Goroma sell [492]
to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly.

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44 439 276 [592] remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly. The Geidam goroma may also send his own agents, members of his household, to these small villages with kola nuts to sell. These agents sell to still smaller-scale middlemen in the Geidam market-place. The commonest form of retailing of kola nuts is the hawker, the bakama, who walks through the streets with a board on which he has several dozen nuts. Men who sit chatting in the evening shade will buy one or two nuts from the bakama as he passes, divide them into halves and quarters and distribute them among the several loungers. Kola nuts may pass through the hands of five or six middlemen before the Kanuri villager sinks his teeth into them.

44 439 [233] The counterpart to kola nuts in regional trade is cattle. Cattle do not thrive in tropical southern Nigeria, and since large quantities are raised in the north, cattle are the most important item which is sent south. Kola nut importers in Geidam frequently send cattle south in this two-way trade. Occasionally two men act as partners, one remaining in the north from whence he ships cattle and where he receives kola nuts, the other living in some southern city, where he receives the cattle sent by his partner and forwards kola nuts north. One Kanuri goroma in Geidam had a Hausa partner stationed in Enugu, and the two dealt exclusively in cattle and kola nuts in the manner described.

44 439 563 A subsidiary regional trade which has been increasing in importance in the recent years is entirely in the hands of Ibos

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44 living in Geidam. They are involved in a dried-meat industry,
439 buying beef slaughtered in Geidam, where the price is low, and
563
[497] curing it there. Since the price of cattle shipped south is
[494] raised appreciably by rail costs from nearby Nguru to Lagos,
it is cheaper to cure the meat in Geidam and ship the dried
meat directly by truck to southern cities. Rail freight costs
are so important that many Fulani herdsmen drive their herds to
Kano, some three hundred miles away, to save the freight charges.
44 This does not improve the quality of the beef. There is also
439
563 a certain amount of regional trade in dried fish, since fish,
too, are plentiful in Geidam. The dried fish trade extends
[494] to Lake Chad, where small communities of Ibos can be found whose
livelihood comes from buying dried fish and shipping them south
by truck.

D. Political Organization on the Communal Level.

63 Bornu Emirate, the largest part of Bornu Province, is itself divided into twenty-one districts, each with its Ajia.
[162] Geidam is the largest district, with a population of 86,993, covering an area of 2500-3000 square miles. The Ajia of Geidam is Yerima Mustapha, and he resides in the town of Geidam, the largest town in the district and consequently its administrative center.

1. The hierarchy of offices in Geidam.

64 The Bornu Native Authority was theoretically and now is

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64 the ruling body in Bornu Emirate. Native Authority (NA) officials, under the overall jurisdiction of the Shehu, are appointed by the Shehu's council (moduləs). These include the Ajia, the highest official representing the NA in a district,
634 and all the lesser office-holders in that district. In Geidam District, Yerima Mustapha is the most important political fig-
[693] ure. Second in importance to Yerima Mustapha in Geidam is the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura Imambe, who served as Alkali in Geidam for most of the year in which the present
[632] study was done, and then was promoted to a higher court. The three Lowans, Lowan Ashek, Lowan Kolo Kolo, and Serəkin Garba, Lowan of the Hausa ward, follow. Their jurisdiction is limited to their own wards within the town. Then follow a long list of officials, all NA appointees, each with his own area of specialization: the Chief Scribe, Treasurer, Primary School Headmaster and three teachers, Agricultural expert, Veterinary, Hides and Skins Inspector, Forestry expert, Local Government Advisor, Adult Education Organizer, Dispenser, and Sanitation Inspector. The Chief Scribe and the Treasurer both have assistants. Lowest of the NA officials are the NA messengers. Six NA messengers are attached to the Ajia of Geidam; one NA messenger serves the Alkali.

Most of the officials listed above serve the district of Geidam, though all are permanently stationed in the town. The Ajia and his staff, headed by the Chief Scribe and the Treasurer, are responsible for the administration of the entire dis-

634 trict. The Alkali is in charge of the Geidam District court,
[692] a grade 'C' court according to the British ranking system, but
[872] the most important of the district courts. The Headmaster and
his three teachers run the Geidam Primary School. The various
experts, such as the veterinary, dispenser, etc., are all educated men who have been trained in their specialty. They are,
however, NA appointees and are directly under the authority
[632] of the Ajia. Only the Lowans are concerned solely with the
town itself, and they, too, it will be seen, are directly responsible to the Ajia.

648 The British instituted a formal Village Council, with an
634 elected membership of fifteen to twenty. The Ajia is Chairman,
and Alhaji Amadu Kolon, an important canteen owner and trader,
is the elected vice-chairman. There is also a District Council
similarly instituted, with the Ajia again as Chairman. Its
twenty-five to thirty members are all Lowans of Geidam Dis-
[178] trict, save for four or five. In contrast to these formal
councils, there is an informal and traditional Kanuri council
which consists of the people who come and sit at the gateway
(chinna) of the Ajari while Yerima Mustapha is arbitrating disputes. It is made up of a shifting membership, some more permanent than others, which includes important kabuna of the Ajia's,
NA officials who are in a special relationship with the Ajia,
and some of the important citizens of the town.

634
692 Only the Alkali is not under the direct authority of the
Ajia, and in theory the courts and the executive branch, repre-

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634 692 sented by the Ajia and those under him, are supposed to operate independently and to serve as checks on one another. In Geidam, Yerima Mustapha and Alkali Baba Kura work together very closely. As will be seen, the system of social stratification and the personal histories of the Geidam power elite operate to prevent the independent functioning of the several arms of government. 178 648 63 When the social system persists and old Kanuri values are adhered to, as happens in Geidam, the traditional political system continues to operate despite new forms instituted by the British colonial rulers.

177 178 625 648 The manner in which this occurs can be seen most clearly in the following example describing the functioning of the police in Geidam. Nigeria has a dual police system: the Nigerian Police, an arm of the Federal Government, and NA Police, part of the Native Authority system. The Bornu NA Police are under a European Assistant Superintendent of Police, stationed in Maiduguri. Among his important concerns is the theft of livestock, particularly in the northernmost districts, since cattle are easily moved across the frontier and sold in Niger, out of [661] the jurisdiction of the Bornu NA Police. The Assistant Superintendent of Police had strong suspicions that collaboration between thieves and political officials on both sides of the border was preventing the apprehension of criminals. He thought that Lowans and Ajias might be hiding and protecting thieves and sharing in their profits. Consequently, he considered it imperative that the Police operate independently of the other

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177 branches of the NA administration. Geldam has a Police Charge 178 625 Office and a prison. Heading the police contingent in Geidam 648 is a Sergeant, with two corporals and about fifteen men in his command. In September, 1956 the Sergeant in command was Sergeant Ali. He seemed to have a good relationship with both Alkali Baba Kura and with Yerima Mustapha, yet two months later he was replaced by a new man, Sergeant Usman. The reasons given were that he had had difficulties with the Ajia, who had asked that he be replaced. Sergeant Usman was not seen in the Ajari frequently, although Sergeant Ali had often been present 177 there. It was not until late in the field trip that the in- 178 625 formation was revealed (in private, of course) that the new 648 Sergeant, Sergeant Usman, was a slave of Yerima's. Years ago, 567 571 at the death of Laminu Jitia, the great-grandfather of Yerima Mustapha, the Shehu took for himself most of his property including a slave called Kazella Kadria. This, of course, is the Shehu's prerogative towards his kabuna, of which Laminu Jitia was one of the most prominent. Kazella Kadria was the grandfather of Sergeant Usman, who, strictly speaking, was a slave of the Shehu's. His own father grew up as a slave of the Shehu, but Sergeant Usman knows that Yerima Mustapha is the direct lineal descendant and successor to the position of his great-grandfather Laminu Jitia, to whom Sergeant Usman's grandfather once belonged, and he behaves accordingly to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia of Geidam. This relationship is never mentioned by either party, but it can be seen permeating every

177 aspect of their behavior towards one another. Sergeant Usman
178 625 comes only to report to Yerima each morning; otherwise he is
648 never in the Ajari. He is absolutely trustworthy, and in
567 retrospect it is evident that he was brought to Geidam to be
571 in charge of the NA Police there because of this. The nature of the relationship between the Ajia and the Sergeant is, of course, unknown to the British administration and to the European Assistant Superintendent of Police, but in that relationship and in its effective use by Yerima Mustapha can be seen the persistence of the traditional social system, as well as the frustration of newer bureaucratic forms introduced by the British.

571 The relationship between the Ajia and the Geidam Police
662 178 is typical in a general sense of all relationships within the political hierarchy centering in Geidam, though it is not always possible to see the structural lines as clearly as in a
[501] slave-master situation. Another special NA appointee in Geidam, Malam Jalo, operates the ferry crossing the Yobe River during its flood. This is a well-paying job, and is highly coveted. Malam Jalo is a member of an important family, and has political influence at the court which enabled him to get the appointment. He acts like a kabuna of Yerima's, and considers himself to be a kabuna though his job is entirely independent of that performed by the kabuna. By placing himself in the relationship of a kabuna to the Ajia, he defines his role in the political system, and at the same time indicates

571 662 178 his allegiance to the Ajia who might otherwise be tempted to replace him with one of his own men.

178 571 631 66 [illegible] The kabuna represent a special category in the administration of the district. The colonial administration makes no provision for the kabuna; they are not NA appointees as are all the other officeholders mentioned above; they receive no salary. Yet, the services which they perform are vital if the district bureaucracy is to continue to function smoothly. The kabuna represent a traditional Kanuri social category whose rôles are primarily in the political sphere. The roles of the kabuna have been slightly modified and adapted to the modern situation, but the relationship between kabuna and Ajia and between kabuna and populace is a traditional one and is once again typical of the persistence of the old social stratification system into the present.

571 634 Yerima Mustapha has fifty-nine kabuna at Geidam. Some are slaves; some are free. Many have been with Yerima for years and years. Head of all the kabuna is Wakil Ali, a slave. The kabuna are each given a house to live in, a horse belonging to Yerima, a plot of land to farm, and ceremonial trappings for themselves and for their horses. In turn, they swear allegiance to Yerima and work for him.

2. A history of important office-holders in Geidam.

175 [illegible] The present town of Geidam is on the site of an old town called Damjeri. Five miles to the west of the present Geidam

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175 was an old town called Geidam Balara, from which the town today
[103] takes its name. In the eighteenth century, when the capital
of Bornu was at Birni Ngazargamo not far off, Geidam was part
of the Mai's lands. Later, when Kukawa became the capital,
and the Mais were replaced by the Shehus, Geidam became part
175 of the fief granted to the Imam. Since Geidam District is
634 [632] very large, it was divided among a number of chimas. The town
of Geidam (Dəmjeri and Geidam Balara, at that time) was controlled by Kazella Ibrahim Geidama, a slave of the Imam who served as chima gana (literally little chima--serving the real chima who lived in the capital). Geidam was a kalyari, an area under the authority of a slave.

The first Ajia of Geidam, in the early years of the twentieth century was Kazella Sulama, a slave of the Shehu's. He
was followed by Aba Rafəgə, a son of Shehu Ibrahim, who served
[648] as Ajia of Geidam until his death in 1915. Maiduguri had not yet been built and the Mounted Infantry, along with many Europeans, were stationed in Geidam. Aba Rafəga was the most important of the Ajias at that time. Kazella Kakami (Kaigama) then became the Ajia of Geidam, where he served for almost thirty years until his death in January, 1944. Kaigama Kakami was the son of Kaigama Bilel, the commander of the army during the days of Shehu Laminu. His son, Kaigama Zubairu, succeeded to the title of Kaigama and to the office of Ajia of Geidam. Kaigama Zubairu remained Ajia of Geidam for ten years, until he was demoted to a smaller district, Dəmboa, in 1954. In 1954 Yerima

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175 Mustapha, another holder of a great title, was promoted from
634 Magumeri District to Geidam District to replace Kaigama Zubairu.

175 Yerima Mustapha is of the family of Shuwa kabuna who came
634 554 into Bornu with Shehu Laminu. The Shuwa and Kanembu nobles who
[167] entered Bornu at that time did not bear Kanuri titles. However, as they were the heads of Shuwa and Kanembu lineages (jili), their own names took on the semblance of titles. Two such titles which were perpetuated within Yerima Mustapha's family were "Laminu" and "Malam Tərab". Laminu Jitia, a sister's son of Malam Tərab, succeeded as head of the house of Malam Tərab, who had been the chima over Magumeri at the time of Shehu Umar (son of Shehu Laminu). The position of head of that house, with the accompanying title of "Malam Tərab" passed out of the hands of lineal descendants in succeeding generations when the Shehu appointed non-family men to the position. A son of Laminu Jitia, Aba Sanda Kura, was made Ajia of Magumeri, the original fief of Malam Tərab. He then took the title "Laminu", so that a new Kanuri title was created. Still later, the position of Ajia of Magumeri passed out of the hands of the "Laminu" family. The present Yerima Mustapha, a great-grandson of Laminu Jitia, held the title of "Laminu" from 1926 until 1938.

159 Yerima Mustapha was born in 1901. He received a primary
634 school education and became a Sanitation Inspector and
554 Vaccinator in 1924. In 1932 he was made Ajia of Fune District, where he resided first at Ngəlzerma and later at Damagum. At that time he used the title "Laminu." The present Shehu of

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159 634 554 Bornu, Shehu Umar, succeeded to the throne in 1937. A year later he conferred the title of "Yerima" on Yerima Mustapha. The title "Yerima" is one of the highest Kanuri titles. It had been held by a Kanuri family, but at the time that Yerima Mustapha succeeded to it, the last title-holder had left no sons. Several members of the Shehu's own family sought the title, but i[illegible]s given to Yerima Mustapha because he had been close to the Shehu, though his own family had no claim to the title of "Yerima." In 1943 Yerima Mustapha was made the Ajia in Magumeri where his family had lived for generations. He replaced the dismissed Aba Jatau, son of Shehu Garbai, as Ajia in Magumeri. For eleven years Yerima Mustapha remained in Magumeri; in 1954 he was moved to Geidam District, the largest in the province, after Kaigama Zubairu was demoted.

175 632 634 The personal history of the Lowans of Geidam is intimately bound to the history of the several Ajias who have governed in the district. In the course of the eleven years that Yerima served as Ajia of Magumeri a number of his most trusted kabuna were appointed as Lowans in the district. When Yerima left Magumeri, among the heritage left for the Ajia who replaced him, Digma, were the many Lowans who had sworn allegiance to the departed Ajia. They included Lowan Maina, Lowan of Magumeri town, formerly Yerima's Wakil. In identical fashion, Kaigama Zubairu left Lowans in Geidam who had been his kabuna previously. The two Kanuri Lowans of Geidam at the time that Yerima came there were Lowan Ashek and Lowan Kagu. Lowan Kagu

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175 632 634 was a very young man, whose father had been a Lowan under Kaigama before him. In fact, years earlier Geidam had hrd one Lowan instead of three--and the single Lowan had been the grandfather of Lowan Kagu. Then the town was split into three wards, each with its Lowan. At that time, Lowan Ashek, who had been a kabuna of Kaigama's and his slave as well, became a Lowan. Lowan Kagu's father was also made Lowan of a ward, succeeding his father; and the young Lowan Kagu in turn succeeded his father at his father's death.

175 632 634 66 The Lowans of Geidam were loyal to the departed Kaigama, but now it was necessary to demonstrate that they could transfer their loyalty to Yerima Mustapha, the new Ajia of Geidam and their new master. Lowan Ashek, an older and more experienced man, was able to do this. He became one of Yerima's kabuna, and while he is far from the most trusted of Yerima's men, he continues to serve as Lowan under Yerima since he knows the people of his ward well and had been performing the job for some years. Lowan Kagu was young, and was unable to control his feelings in the face of strains created by the situation. He, too, might have bridged the difficult transition as Lowan Ashek had done, had he had more experience in office. As it was, he was dismissed shortly after Yerima's arrival because he lost his temper in an argument with Yerima and threw a book in his face.

Yerima was then free to appoint one of his own men to replace Lowan Kagu. When he was approached and asked whom he

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175 632 634 66 wished to have as the new Lowan, he replied that he was indifferent. The name of Kolo Kolo was then submitted to the town council, the only name submitted. Eight council members voted for Kolo Kolo as new Lowan; two wrote in other names. Kolo Kolo then became the new Lowan. He had been a resident in Geidam for twenty years before Yerima came to the town, and had been an important dijelma dealing in cows. Kolo Kolo is of the same family as Yerima's mother. When Yerima came to Geidam as Ajia, Kolo Kolo joined him as a kabuna, one of the more important kabuna. At the first opportunity he was made a Lowan. He is a good choice as Lowan as he has long been a resident of Geidam, and is acceptable to the townspeople. At the same time, he is a kabuna of Yerima's, and is completely devoted to Yerima, who made it all possible. Yerima bears no grudge against Lowan Kagu. He specifically states that if Lowan Kagu, who is still a young man, has learned from the experience and can demonstrate through his behavior that his attitudes have changed, he may well be appointed Lowan again, should a future opportunity arise. Indeed, it appears that Yerima would welcome this, were he assured of Lowan Kagu's loyalty to him, as it would smooth over old rifts and would restore Lowan Kagu to a position which had long been in his family and to which he was entitled.

692 642 000 The courts in Bornu are intended, theoretically, to operate independently from the political arm of government, and in particular to be free of all influence from the Ajias. The

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693 The personnel who occupy positions in the judiciary, however, are
554 bound to the social system. The Alkalis of Geidam exhibit a
pattern in their personal histories, and are representative of
specific social strata--the Koranic malams, the Imams and the
Alkalis--whose sons follow their fathers and pursue the same
693 goals. Alkali Baba Kura was the son of Imam Komi, the chief
159 Imam at Maiduguri who later became Chief Alkali. He studied
the Koran, explanations of the Koran, Hadith (traditions), and
Tarikh (chronicles) at his father's house and at the houses of
other learned Malams in Maiduguri, and then went to study law
at the Kano Law School. He was appointed Alkali for the districts
of Magumeri and Gubio when he was only twenty-five years
old, at the time when Yerima Mustapha was Ajia of Magumeri,
and Yerima became his mentor. Alkali Baba Kura remained in
Magumeri for four years. After Yerima moved to Geidam, Alkali
Baba Kura was transferred to Geidam. One year later he was
elected to serve in the Northern legislature at Kaduna, while
continuing on as Alkali of Geidam. Then in August, 1957 he
was again promoted, this time to be Inspector of Courts in Maiduguri.
693 159 He and two other powerful and important Alkalis make
662 up the Shehu's court. This is an extremely important position
554 for so young a man, and Alkali Baba Kura owes much of his success
to help which he received from Yerima, although his own
family connections were still more important in helping rapidly
693 to further his career. Alkali Baba Kura's older brother is to-
554 day Imam Ibrahim, having succeeded his father as chief Imam in

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693 554 Maiduguri. He also holds the post of Alkali for Maiduguri District. Replacing Alkali Baba Kura in Geidam was another young man, Alkali Tijani Nanami, whose father had also been the Alkali in Geidam years earlier, in 1939-1940. Thus the same families tend to retain their positions of power and [66] prestige in the social system. If the past can serve as a reliable guide, Yerima will again further the career of the new Alkali, so long as he sees that his help is appreciated and rewarded by proper reciprocal behavior, and in this way the close bond which he has always seemed to create and maintain with Alkalis in his district will serve to smooth the way in the administration of his district.

3. The Role of Authority Figures: Sholo.

627 692 A very widespread Kanuri method of obtaining in-group justice is through the arbitration of disputes by a person in a position of authority. This practice is called sholo. Disputants within a particular craft or occupation will go to the head of their craft group for arbitration. The head of the zogors arbitrates disputes between zogors. The Lowan arbitrates disputes within his ward or his village. The wakil has disputants brought to him; he then presents them before the Ajia [648] for sholo. The Alkali will settle disputes out of court. The British officially forbade Lowans and Ajias from hearing cases [779] and arbitrating in disputes. However, Alkali Baba Kura says that according to the Koran, the settlement of disputes through

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627 692 [779] arbitration is encouraged, so long as the complainant has his grievance adjusted.

627 662 431 Carrying out sholo is one of the most important functions of the individual in a position of political authority. It is subject to various forms of abuse, however, though there are self-regulating mechanisms which inhibit the continuation of abuses. The matter of fees and gifts in cases of sholo can be [192] a source of difficulty. The words kunjo and nasha are used for any sort of gift. Kafelo is the traditional gift which the small man, the talaka, gives to the important man, the kantuoma. Risa (Arabic) means simply a bribe. Wushira is the fee paid [779] to the court after a dispute is settled. According to Alkali Baba Kura, kafelo and risa amount to the same thing, and both are forbidden by Maliki law since gifts given with the expectation of preferences in the future are haram (forbidden according to religious law). Giving of kafelo is traditionally done nevertheless.

627 [431] Before the hearing of a dispute, both parties give kafelo to the mediator. If no kafelo is given, the dispute will not be heard. After a ruling is made in the dispute, the side which has received a favorable decision gives wushira to the medi- [693] ator. The reasoning involved in the giving of wushira is that if the case had gone to court a set fee would have been paid. When a case is heard in Sholo, therefore, the mediator receives as wushira a smaller fee than would have been paid in court.

Despite its outlawing by the British administration, sholo

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627 is still widely practiced. If a man's decisions are just and
people trust him, they will come to him for sholo. If he is
not trusted, if he is feared or disliked, people will not bring
627 cases for him to hear. In one situation mentioned, the Lowan
663 661 of a town hears many cases and receives large amounts in wushira,
because he is wise and knows how to deal with people and resolve
disputes. The Ajia of that district, who lives in the same
town, does very little sholo because he is not tactful, loses
his temper, and shouts a good deal. Should people suspect that
a Lowan or an Ajia is taking bribes, they will cease to bring
their disputes before him. The essence of sholo is that it represents
a voluntary action on the part of disputants who wish
to have a conflict resolved. The mediator is a person in
authority, who is obligated to rule justly by virtue of his position.
Should he misuse his position by taking bribes, he
would violate the expectations of those beneath him, and they,
by ceasing to bring cases to him for sholo, would prevent him
from performing one of the most important roles of someone in
[431] his position. Giving of kafelo, therefore, is a recognition
[554] of the status of the man hearing the case, and is quite different
from a bribe.

627 431 [671] Yerima hears fifteen or twenty cases each week in which
he gives sholo. If mediation is impossible, he will send the
case to court. To have a case brought before Yerima, the complainant
gives several shillings to his wakil. Yerima is never
given money directly, but money collected by the wakil is turned

627 431 over to Yerima. Though the wakil or any kabuna may bring a case before Yerima, kafelo is presented solely to the wakil. Yerima denies that he exacts wushira after ruling in a case of sholo, but he admits to receiving kafelo beforehand. He states that kafelo often is in the form of bowls of millet, which he refers to as nasha (gifts); other informants say that kafelo to hear a case must be in hard cash.

627 578 Many of the cases brought before Yerima for sholo involve marital disputes. Where husband and wife are prepared to reconcile their differences, and seek merely to have an authority hear one another's promises not to repeat the things which caused conflict, sholo is effective. Where neither party is prepared to be reconciled, sholo cannot be effective, and the dispute is sent to court. Yerima rarely brings out his Koran for formal swearing. It is usually sufficient for a person to say that he is willing to swear on the Koran--the husband is willing to swear that he will never again beat his wife, the wife in turn is willing to swear that she never again will curse her husband. 627 663 661 Sholo is doubly important in Geidam because the Ajia and the Alkali are extremely close, and work effectively together. Yerima sees their cooperation as a virtue. If he is aware of information which the Alkali should know in order to make a proper decision, he informs the Alkali. In turn, it is clear that Yerima's influence with the Alkali can potentially disrupt the course of true justice, might even be used for individual ends by others. Few Ajias are as close with their

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627 663 661 Alkalis as Yerima is with Alkali Baba Kura, but Yerima would put his influence to use only when affairs arise which directly concern him.

627 829 671 In the eyes of talaka, sholo is the major means for keeping the peace. They do not distinguish sharply between the resolution of conflicts through sholo and through judgments handed down in the courtroom. The Kanuri do not conceive of an impartial legal system which grants all individuals equal protection. Law is conceived of as mediation granted by particular individuals, some more trustworthy than others. Whether one brings one's complaint before the Ajia, the Alkali, or the Lowan depends on whether one has greater trust in the Ajia, the Alkali, or the Lowan. In any case, one brings one's complaint to be heard by a single man, with his particular whims, idiosyncracies and prejudices, and one chooses the man in whom one [648] has the greatest confidence. According to the British view, sholo given by an Ajia or Lowan is not permitted,and is therefore not binding on the parties involved. A man who has received an unfavorable decision in sholo can complain to the court and the decision will be overruled. The Ajia or Lowan who heard the case will have difficulty because of it. This rarely happens because the talaka sees the situation from an entirely different viewpoint. When he brings a case for sholo and receives an adverse ruling, the dispute must end there as he has done everything possible for him to do in the situation, particularly if no bribes have been given (to his knowledge)

627 829 671 [626] and he has had an opportunity to present his side of the dispute. If he feels that the mediator has been bribed and the case has not been properly handled, he knows that he must never bring a case for sholo before that Ajia or Lowan again and he will let his relatives, friends, and neighbors know what occurred. If a decision has been against him, and he has no reason to suspect that it was not fairly given, then he cannot take the case for further sholo, since his case has already been decided. Taking his case before the Alkali would be to take it once again for sholo, and if he had trusted the Alkali more than he did the Lowan who originally gave sholo in the case, he would have brought his complaint directly to the Alkali in the first place. [693] In addition, the court exacts wushira from the winner, more than is paid in sholo, as well as other fees paid to police who bring in witnesses, and to court appointed assessors of property, in property disputes.

4. Taxation and the role of kabuna.

663 651 The two primary responsibilities of a Kanuri political official are to properly administer his territory and to collect taxes. The first duty involves the handling of disputes and [565] maintaining adequate control over subordinates. So long as the traditional social system remains in effect, each class of individual will know its place, talaka will come to those in authority for sholo, subordinates will fear and respect their superiors, and those in power will not usurp their power by unduly exploiting the populace.

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000 unduly exploiting the populace.

651 The second duty is to collect taxes. These fall into two categories: haraji--a tax on houses, sheep and goats, and [562] other forms of property and jangali--a tax on cattle. Since cattle are so important in the economy of the area, much tax revenue is derived from jangali of which there are three forms: nomad jangali, collected from the semi-nomadic pastoral peoples, Kwoyam, Buduwai, Shuwa Arab, and particularly Fulani, by far the largest pastoral group in Geidam; village jangali; [632] road and market jangali. Haraji and village jangali are collected by the Lowans of each village. Within the town of Geidam, road and market jangali is collected by Lowan Kolo Kolo [634] since the market lies within his ward. Nomad jangali is collected by the Ajia.

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634 Several months before haraji is to be collected the Lowan compiles a list of all tax payers under his jurisdiction. This list is sent to Maiduguri and then to Kaduna, the capital of the Northern Region, for inspection. On its return to him, he collects the haraji tax. In Geidam District a kabuna is sent off to each Lowan in the district to be present when the lists [648] are compiled. This is counter to British colonial regulations which are designed to make the Lowan independent of the Ajia, [626] and responsible only to the provincial administration. Yerima's argument, however, is that the Lowans will not properly assess their villagers unless a stranger, the kabuna, is present to assure that they do not under-assess in making up the lists.

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651 The essential problem in the collection of nomad jangali is to find the cows and their owners, who are wandering in search of good grazing, and who are most likely to wander into the deeper thickets when the time for jangali collection nears. Once the cattle owners and their cattle are found, their names are recorded along with the number of cows which each man owns. Then, as he usually has no cash, it is necessary for the owner of a herd of cattle to sell some of them so that he can obtain cash with which he will pay the jangali tax. After his name is recorded, he does not attempt to evade payment. He is then given several weeks to pay his tax. Nomad jangali rates are [657] five shillings for each cow. If a man attempts to conceal cows, if he reports that he owns a number of cows and then is discovered to have more than announced, he pays at the rate of ten shillings per cow.

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634 The prescribed method for collecting jangali is for the Ajia personally to ride after the Fulani and collect the tax from them for their cattle. In a district the size of Geidam [642] this is obviously impossible. It is necessary for an Ajia to have many horsemen in order to canvass his entire district so that he will collect an amount in jangali which corresponds to the actual number of cows in his district. This is the primary role of the kabuna. There are several approaches to the problem of jangali collection, relying on differing tactics, all used by Yerima. One is to assign important kabuna, who can be

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651 trusted, to large areas. A number of less important kabuna col-
634 lect the jangeli, under the responsibility of the chief kabuna in their area. The wakil, Wakil Ali, tours the entire district. Occasionally Yerima himself tours key sections, accompanied by a special wakil (formerly Wakil Guloma had this assignment, but [illegible] he has been replaced). A second tactical approach is to keep a certain number of horsemen in reserve. When an unusually large number of cattle are reported in any one area, horsemen are rushed into that area, assuring that all the cattle will be reported and that the kabuna there will not be swamped in their work. A third approach which Yerima used successfully in Magumeri District is to divide the entire district into strips several miles in width. Several kabuna comb a strip moving from east to west looking for Fulani with cattle, while other kabuna are simultaneously combing similar strips to the north and the south. When a group of kabuna have gone through their own strip, they exchange strips with another group and return in the opposite direction.

563 In Geidam today the Fulani are organized under Ardos and
631 Mais. A Fulani lineage is under an Ardo, appointed by the Ajia, Yerima Mustapha. When an Ardo dies, his people bring the man that they would like to succeed the dead Ardo, usually his son, to Yerima who appoints him Ardo. The Mai governs over all Fulani in a large area; he has many Ardos under him. In Geidam District there are four Fulani Mais who fall within the territories of particular Lowans. These are Mai Musa, Mai Kusur, Mai

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563 651 Maganuwa, and Mai Mar. Several other Mais roam in the brush areas without being attached to particular lowanships. A new man may come to Yerima with a group of Fulani followers and ask to be made an Ardo. If he is appointed Ardo, he is then asked to which Mai he wishes his group to be affiliated. A kabuna sent by Yerima to collect jangali from a particular area records the number of cows reported by the Ardo or Mai for his group of followers in that area. Then the kabuna hunts down the cows [illegible] and their individual owners. If the kabuna finds that an Ardo actually has more cows than he originally reported, the Ardo is fined five shillings for every additional cow found. Each Fulani Mai receives a percentage of the total jangali collected from his group. The percentage that he receives (wujira) is in the neighborhood of six pence for each pound of jangali collected. The Mai then distributes money to his Ardos, according to the amount of jangali that they brought in.

651 634 When Yerima left Magumeri District in 1953 there were 28,000 cows on which village jangali was paid, and 59,700 cows on which nomad jangali was paid. In 1956, under the new Ajia, Digma, the number of cows on which nomad jangali was paid had dropped to 23,000. The drop in the reported number of cows may be because Fulani have left Magumeri District, but it is more likely that Digma is unable to have them tracked down so that the jangali tax is paid. This is because Digma has insufficient kabuna to do the job adequately. When Yerima first arrived in Geidam in 1953 there were 33,000 cows reported for nomad jangali. By 1956, there were 39,000 cows reported, an

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651 increase of 6,000 cows. The tax figures for Geidam District
634 in 1956 are as follows:
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village jangali - 30,000 cows		
nomad jangali - 39,000 cows	taxes collected =	£ 17,500
road and market jangali		3,000
haraji		41,000
	total taxes	£ 61,500

Geidam is a large, populous district and the sums involved in [433] tax collection are correspondingly large. Because Geidam has a large farming population, it has less bush area to accommodate nomadic Fulani and the number of cows on which nomadic jangali 651 is collected is smaller than in Magumeri District. Yerima 634 563 Mustapha's approach to jangali collection is to reconcile two seemingly conflicting goals. On the one hand he attempts to attract Fulani Ardos into his district; on the other hand he attempts to collect jangali for every single cow within the district. Digma, the Ajia of Magumeri District, doesn't try to attract Fulani into his district, nor can he collect jangali for all the cows already there, though he tours a great deal and covers much of the area himself, which Yerima does not do.

651 634 663 156 [648] The contrast presented by the two Ajias, Yerima and Digma, is enlightening. From the point of view of the British, Yerima does an excellent job in administering his district, and in particular in collecting taxes. The amount which Yerima brings in to the NA treasure is steadily increasing, and there is no reason for investigating his methods as there are no complaints. Yerima organizes his kabuna, who do the actual work of collecting taxes. Yerima himself does not perform the physi-

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651 cal labor involved. Digma, on the other hand, has moved into
634 the district which Yerima left, so that the contrast between
663 156 the two is particularly marked. Taxes have constantly been
declining in his district, and he is continually suspected of
embezzling tax money--otherwise how else can one explain the
meager sums brought in from such a prosperous district? The
threat of investigation and dismissal hovers over Digma, a
[208] nervous and suspicious man to begin with. He is not liked in
his district, is not a generous man, and has few kabuna under
him. Consequently he is driven to go out and to collect the
taxes himself, but the job is far more than one man could ever
accomplish and he has only increased worries to show for his
efforts. Every failure of Digma's recalls the memory of Yerima,
who was respected and liked, who was generous, and who per-
634 formed so well as Ajia. Yerima's success in this as in so
663 554 many things derives from his keen insight into the traditional
156 social structure and his ability to adapt and use traditional
means to achieve his ends. The manner in which he maintains a
large corps of kabuna, many of them slaves, and uses their
services to his advantage while at the same time fulfilling all
the obligations of a great aristocrat, are an illustration of
this. Digma on the other hand is unable to act the part of a
traditional aristocrat, and constantly lives in fear of those
above him.

651 634 One way of handling the problem of inducing Fulani Ardos
563 662 to come into a district while at the same time taxing their

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651 634 563 662 cattle is to deal directly with the Ardos and Mais, bribing them with gifts to come into the district. This is highly improper, as the Fulani of a district are considered a part of that district. Movement of Fulani from one district to another merely alters the source of jangali, but does nothing to increase the total amount which flows into the central NA treasury. Indeed, one source of concern to Yerima is that the Fulani Ardos of Geidam District will hear that the Ajia of Magumeri District, which is directly south of Geidam and shares with it a long unprotected border, has an inadequate number of horsemen, and will move south into Magumeri District out of reach of Yerima's kabuna, to avoid paying jangali. Should such a movement out of his district occur, Yerima would notify the Waziri in Maiduguri, who would in turn force Digma to patrol his side of the border to prevent the Fulani from moving unnoticed into his district. It is clear, however, that Yerima is not above offering inducements to Fulani Ardos to move into his territory and increase his tax lists.

651 634 563 66 Yerima's overall scheme depends on the stationing of important kabuna who are in charge of jangali collection in their areas. These are as follows:

Grema Jisami - responsible for all the territory north of the Yobe River.
Kolo Kime - responsible for the area around Gumsa, and all the Fulani under Mai Musa.
Aba Chiari - responsible for the area around Kusur, and all the Fulani under Mai Kusur.
Kəngədi - responsible for the Maganuwa area, and the Fulani under Mai Maganuwa.
Kazella Dokalla - responsible for the Zurukuduk area, but with no single Fulani Mai in his area.

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Mai Mar, the fourth important Fulani Mai does not have assigned to him a kabuna in charge of jangali collection from his people. All other kabuna remain located in Geidam town, and are sent out to particular areas on demand. The primary method used by Yerima is to send out horses to areas in which cattle are reported. One aspect of Aba Chiari's job is to let Yerima know if Fulani are crossing over into Magumeri District, as his area is along the Geidam-Magumeri border.

Yerima is willing to reach a compromise in assigning jangali payment to a particular Ardo or Mai which is below the full amount according to the actual count of cattle belonging to his group. If the Ardo is willing to accept Yerima's assessment, then both sides benefit: Yerima benefits because his kabuna have less work to do and can turn their attention elsewhere where it may be needed, the Ardo benefits because the total jangali is less for his group than it would be if every cow were counted. It is through such methods that the Fulani Ardos are induced to remain in Geidam or to come to Geidam should they find themselves in the district of an Ajia who is erratic or uncompromising. Should the Ardo feel that he can get away with paying less jangali than the amount assigned to him by Yerima, on the basis of information given him by his chief kabuna, he might try to hide cattle or to sneak away. Then Yerima would descend on his people with many kabuna and every single head of cattle would be counted and taxed. The threat of Yerima's many kabuna makes this an unwise course of action,

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551 and Yerima has actually carried out the threat often enough
634 for all to know that he means business. It is much wiser and
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66 easier to compromise, and to receive gifts for having compromised, than to curry the Ajia's disfavor. In this way Yerima maintains harmonious relations with the Fulani in his district, and indeed with the Kanuri villagers as well, and satisfies the demands of the central authorities at the same time. The system is dependent on the work of Yerima's kabuna, who in turn are supported by Yerima. Ultimately funds to support Yerima's sixty odd kabuna come from tax funds, though this never appears in the accounting of taxes. Absolute loyalty to Yerima is de-
[[63] manded of all his kabuna. A kabuna found helping himself from jangali, or using his position to extract money from villagers for himself, is severely dealt with.

5. The Roles of N.A. Personnel.

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63 The roles of a number of political figures have been discussed in some detail above. In particular, the roles of Ajia and kabuna, of Lowan, and of Alkali have been examined and in every case it can be seen that traditional Kanuri roles have
[63] persisted into the present. The smooth functioning of the political system of Geidam has been attributed to the ability of individuals carrying out those roles, particularly of Yerima Mustapha, in perpetuating traditional relationships and adapting those relationships to the changing present.

634 However, in looking at the list of office-holders in Gei-
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634 dam once again, it is evident that one group is a modern group
178 177 which has no counterpart in traditional Kanuri society. This
554 is a group of NA appointees including the Primary School Head-
master and the three school teachers, the Agricultural expert,
the Veterinary, the Hides and Skins Inspector, the Forestry
expert, the Local Government Advisor, the Adult Education Organ-
[191] izer, the Dispenser, and the Sanitation Inspector. All of these
[871] individuals have been educated in Western schools, most through
[463] secondary school, and all speak some English. They have all
received specialized training for their jobs. In addition,
all are young men or young adult men. Because they have all
been educated, they are addressed as "Malam," an extension of
the term for a Koranic scholar to new areas of scholarship.
(They will be referred to henceforth as "NA Malams".)

634 177 Despite the fact that the use of the term Malam indicates
554 a general recognition of their scholarly attainments, the NA
565 Malams are a part of the political system, under the jurisdic-
871 tion of the Ajia. Most of the NA Malams in Geidam are sons of
Lowans or Ajias, or have some direct connection with the house-
hold of a Lowan or Ajia. This is because the aristocracy and
those in political power have been more likely to send their
[829] sons to school than the talaka. Talaka are loath to send
their children to the Western school as they are needed at
home to assist in farming, and because parents see nothing to
[555] be gained by sending one's child to the school. Lowans, how-
ever, are themselves pressured to set a good example, and they

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634 871 555 177 545 554 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged derives from the aristocracy or from minor political officialdom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power and social prestige. [178] However, the means to obtain power which is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 76 [184] Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual prayer. 128 79 [184] The present discussion will be limited to two areas: religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

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1. Religious specialists.

792 The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam.
872 As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred
875
[463] to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Gei-
[462] dam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies
and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These
full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their
compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding
[876] villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Gei-
dam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are
taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections
[292] of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam
[735] are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one
shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the
evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam
in the name of Allah.

792 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who
[554] have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few
793 Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there
are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses
which are given recognition by the traditional political author-
[693] ities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of
Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well
as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in
[192] connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the
word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely
a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

793 a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Ngumaribe (ngumari means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zamabe (Zama means Friday). The Liman Ngumaribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important
[782] festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each
[684] Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when
793 Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was con-
634 sidered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that
292 Malam as the Liman Zamabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zamabe was
554 given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Ngumaribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

796 The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent
785 in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken
183
[561] into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

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796 though it was admitted that there were Kanuri who drank water
785 in secret. In Maiduguri there are Kanuri who eat openly in
183 the market-place during Ramadan, but Geidam is too small a town
[369] for anyone to violate religious custom so blatantly. As Ramadan
785 in 1957 fell in the hottest and most uncomfortable time of
512 the year, fasting, and in particular abstaining from drinking,
is very demanding. Most people radically alter their schedules.
During Ramadan they customarily rise at 3 A.M. at the call of
a waker, pray and drink something and then remain up doing
their work until sunrise (6 A.M.). They then work for an additional
two or three hours until the sun is high in the sky,
when they retire to sleep until three or four in the afternoon.
[462] From four until sunset (6:45 P.M.) people again work, and the
women pound and grind millet. At sunset the Ladan calls to announce
[262] the end of the day's fast. People then drink quantities
[272] of a porridge made of millet and soured milk (bələm). At ten
or eleven in the evening people eat the one hearty meal of the
[517] day. Activities such as visiting, chatting and strolling continue
on into the night. During Ramadan, the entire daily
schedule is shifted so that people sleep through the hottest
hours of the day, work during the cooler periods at sunrise and
at sunset, break the fast with a light meal which is followed
by a heavy meal some hours later, and spend much of the night
in leisure activities. In actual fact little work is accomplished
in this month.

785 As the sun set on Tuesday, April 30th, everyone looked
796

As the sun set on Tuesday, April [GEIDAM] 30th, everyone looked
785 closely for the new moon which would mark the beginning of the
796 new month and the end of the fast. The sky was slightly cloudy
[805] and the sliver of the new moon could not be distinguished. The
[821] following day, therefore, would once again be a fast day. However, two boys came to the Alkali and swore on the Koran that
they had seen the moon. In addition, it was announced over the
radio that the moon had been seen in Enugu, so that the fast of
Ramadan was in fact ended. Wednesday, instead of a fast day,
was the festive Nguməri Ashembe (Ashem means fast), the great
796 festival marking the end of Ramadan. Throughout the night guns
[534] were shot off, and drumming and algator (a reed instrument)
playing were continuous at the door of the Ajari. On Wednesday
morning at nine o'clock a crowd of more than a thousand people
gathered in an open area to the southeast of the town, where a
[291] large tent had been erected, for communal prayers. Everyone
wore new gowns (kulugu) which had been given as presents for
[492] the holiday. The Ajia rode out to the place of prayer on horse,
followed by all his men in their most brilliant robes. After
the prayers, led by the Liman Ngumaribe, had ended, all strolled
back to the town, and the Ajia and his men paraded back to the
Ajari. At the chinna of the Ajari a large crowd had gathered,
and the Alkali along with the various NA Malams were seated in
chairs. The Ajia followed by his men then paraded the length
of the dandal to the Ajari entrance. This they did twice, then
Yerima Mustapha remained seated at the entrance while his kabuna
rode in waves toward the Ajari holding aloft their swords and

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796 spears in salute to him. The crowd then dispersed and people
[574] dressed in fine robes visited one another and exchanged greetings. Later that evening horsemen rode once again in salute on the dandal; this time the kabuna were joined by a number of townspeople.

796 574 On the second day of Ngumari Ashembe an enormous feast, attended by about three hundred people, was held at the Ajari at eight in the morning. Some two hundred and fifty people were
[563] seated in the outermost courtyard of the Ajari. These included the kabuna, the more important of the Koranic Malams of the town, and a number of the important traders, many of the latter Hausa. In an inner chamber were the thirty-one members of the NA staff. At one end of the inner chamber, on a raised section sat the Ajia along with the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, a representative of the Shehu, and Malam Jalo. After a time, the group in the inner chamber made up of the NA staff moved to an inner courtyard, split up into six smaller groups,
[262] and food was brought out. In the inner courtyard pancakes (senasen) were served, followed by rice bari (porridge), whole roast chickens, and large sections of ram roasted in a hole in
[272] the earth. Orange squash was drunk with the meal itself. After
[302] the meal, kola nuts were distributed, and after all had washed,
[576] perfume was passed around. Lastly, prayers were said, and all rose, said "Allah ngubəro" (literally meaning, "May Allah prolong your days"--the traditional phrase of deference said to
[431] men of higher status) to Yerima, and left. Throughout this time,

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796 bowls of food were sent out to the large group of men gathered
574 in the outermost courtyard, and eighty additional bowls, each
431 sufficient to feed four or five people, were distributed to
families in the town. In all, 108 bowls of bəri, each costing
about 2 shillings, were given away by the Ajia. Mass distribution
of food in this manner is done three times each year, at
Ngumɔri Ashembe, at Ngumɔri Layabe, and at Mamaludu Kuguibe.
In a small town which has no Ajia, the Lowan distributes food
to all the families of the town. In Geidam only the Ajia distributes
food in this manner, although the Alkali also gives
away a great deal on a smaller scale. In Maiduguri the Shehu
and the Waziri both distribute great quantities of food, while
the Ajia of Maiduguri does not.

796 That evening about thirty-five people were invited to a
574 second feast at the house of Alkali Baba Kura. The meal itself
[272] was essentially the same as that at the Ajia's, except that
Krola (a Nigerian imitation of Coca-Cola) was served instead of
Orange squash and clear mints were passed around with the kola
796 nuts. Though the feast itself was traditional in every respect,
574 the manner of invitation was not. A list, headed by the writer
554 (referred to locally as Malam Ibrahim), was sent to all who
were invited to attend. The group was made up largely of the
NA Malams, the two Kanuri Lowans and the two most important kabuna,
[269] one Kanuri and two Hausa traders, and a few others. Not
present were Yerima Mustapha, who is too important a man to eat
at another's house, any of the Limans or important Koranic Malams,
the Hausa Lowan or the deposed Lowan Kagu, any craft heads,

796 and most of the important traders. Eating from one bowl at
574 554 the head group were, in addition to the Alkali, the Chief Scribe,
the Treasurer, Malam Jalo, Sidi Mohammad, and the writer.

796 182 554 Celebration of the festival marking the end of Ramadan,
Ngumǝri Ashembe, has been described in some detail above. In
the description can be seen the integration of a religious festival with the social structure of the town of Geidam. Keeping of the fast is observed by the entire community and serves to bind its members through a ritual of suffering. The communal bond is further strengthened by public prayer marking the end of the fast. The roles of various office-holders can be seen in connection with these observances. The Liman leads the public prayers; the Alkali attests to the sighting of the new moon; and the Ajia more than any other person uses the festival celebrations to demonstrate and to validate his high status and his great power. The day of Ngumǝri Ashembe is marked by horse displays in which the kabuna of the Ajia vow their allegiance to him, before large crowds of admiring townspeople. On the following day all the important men of the town are invited to a great feast at the Ajari, and vast quantities of food are distributed by the Ajia who demonstrates the generosity expected of a great Kanuri aristocrat and receives the deferential courtesies owed to a great man. The feast which the Alkali makes is minor in comparison and is limited solely to the town aristocracy and the NA Malams.

796 782 Another extremely important yearly festival is called

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796 Ngumari Laya or Salla Laya. This is the festival at which sac-
782 rifice of a ram is made, corresponding to the Hebrew festival
of Pesach and the Christian Easter. Salla Laya was celebrated
on July 9, 1957. The first ram sacrificed is the Shehu's ram
in Maiduguri, a special ram with black rings about his eyes.
In Maiduguri a great festival marked by communal prayer attended
by the Shehu accompanies the sacrifice of this, the first ram.
825 The Liman says the words "Bismillahi" (in the name of Allah) as
he cuts the ram's throat, and the blood pours into a basin or
shallow hole. In Maiduguri people rushed forward to dip their
fingers into the blood and transfer it onto their face, as the
565 blood is considered blessed. After the Shehu's ram has been
431 sacrificed, rich men return to their homes and sacrifice their
own rams. The meat is then distributed to the poor, and the peo-
ple of one's ward. In Geidam Yerima Mustapha distributes about
123 a dozen rams to other important people. In 1957 this included
the visiting anthropologist, who had the ram sacrificed appro-
priately by a neighboring Malam, and distributed the meat as
sadaka to his neighbors and the people of his ward.

796 A month after Salla Laya is the festival of Tsuro Mbulo,
also called Salla Laya Ngawarinz --the tail of Salla Laya (Ar.
Ashura). It took place on the two days of August 5th and 6th.
785 During Tsuro Mbulo pious individuals fast for two days. Un-
561 like Ramadan, this is not an obligatory fast, and younger men
tend not to fast while older men keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo.
796 All, however, participate in the feasting after sunset of the
431

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796 second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-
431 [565] tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this
[777] time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away
[602] kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of
the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili
796 [789] with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the
[753] sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water stor-
age pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness.
[515] On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in
particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam
reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those
[788] present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (ta-
[535] jimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in
[857] a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill
about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto
other little boys.

[782] The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Nguməri Kura (great festival), Nguməri Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

128 In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

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128 within that community. This section, then, is a particularization of the section on social organization in the preceding chapter. It will deal with kinship in an urban community; the data on which the present discussion is based are taken from a sample of individuals (the construction of which will be discussed later) chosen from the community of Geidam. It should be considered against the more general background provided earlier.

Much of the data in this section are presented in the form of tables, wherein individuals are grouped into categories which are contrasted with each other. There are eight groupings in all, and each stands for a category within Kanury social structure which is significantly represented in the town of Geidam. At this point in the discussion, all of the categories should be readily recognizable since their roles in the community have previously been described and discussed. In the following chapter, Chapter IV, they will be considered in yet another context as the problem of acculturation will be treated in terms of categories in Kanuri social structure. At that time, the manner in which the various categories were selected, and the choice of individuals who make up the categories will be described in detail.

1. Marriage.

582 [369] It had been mentioned earlier that boys in the small villages marry earlier than they do in the cities. It may be seen

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582 from Table VI that in the Geidam sample the median age of marriage is 20.25 (mean age is 21.35), but that the range is very great, extending from one individual who married at the age of twelve to one who was not married until the age of thirty-five. 592 463 565 Of the eight categories presented in Table VI, only one seems to differ considerably from the norm in age of marriage, that one being the Canteen Traders. Four of the six in that category married later than the median age, two as late as age twenty-eight. This is interesting because the standard explanation for late marriage is that the individual must work to save money for a bride-price. However, Talaka seem to marry rather early while wealthy traders marry late. This would lead one to suspect that there is also a proportion of individuals who delay marriage until they consider themselves capable of supporting (or needing) a wife, and that this delay results in late marriage for a number of young men who might well have afforded the basic bride-price years earlier.

595 Table VII presents data on the number of wives had by each of forty-four men. Exactly half of the men in the sample have one wife; sixteen men have two wives; one has three and two have four wives; three have no wives--one of these is twenty-five years old and has not yet married--and the other two divorced wives not long ago. Only two men have concubines: Yerima Mustapha has five, and one wife; while Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief 595 565 554 463 Scribe, has one concubine given to him by Kaigama. Comparing the mean number of wives for the various groups, it is clear

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 199]

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Table VI

Age at First Marriage

	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	...35
Aristocracy							1		1		1		2								
Koranic Malams							1					1		1							
Canteen Traders							1		1				1	1			2				
NA Malams						2		1	1			1					1				
Kabuna				1		1	1					1		1							1
Craftsmen				1	2				1										1	1	
Talaka						3	1		1		1	1		1							
Low-status	1								1					1							
Totals:	1	-	-	2	2	6	5	1	6	-	2	4	3	5	-	-	3	-	1	1	1

median age = 20.25

mean age = 21.35

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Table VII

Present Number of Wives

	0	1	2	3	4	concubines	Mean No. of wives
Aristocracy	-	3	2	-	-	1	1.4
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	-	1.7
Canteen Traders	-	-	3	1	2	-	2.8
NA Malams	-	3	3	-	-	1	1.5
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	-	1.5
Craftsmen	-	4	2	-	-	-	1.3
Talaka	1	7	-	-	-	-	.88
Low-status	1	3	-	-	-	-	.75
Total no.	3	22	16	1	2	2	

that the canteen traders have significantly more wives as a group, while the talaka and the low status individuals have significantly fewer wives. Among the canteen traders are found the only two individuals who have four wives; among the talaka and the low status individuals none have more than one wife and two do not have any.

582 The many differences between marrying a kalə yaskə (virgin)
587 and a zogor (divorced woman) have been discussed at some length.
565 Table VIII presents data on the percentage of zogor and kalə
463
554 yaskə among the present wives of individuals in the sample. Under a (Present Wives) it can be seen that the first four categories have married predominantly kalə yaskəs while the bottom
[183] four have overwhelmingly married zogors. The cultural ideal is for a young man to marry a kalə yaskə at his first marriage. Most individuals in each of the eight categories have in fact

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Table VIII

Whether Marriage was with a Kalə Yaskə or a Zogor

	a.		b.		c.	
	Present wives		First wife		All previous wives	
	kalə yaskə	zogor	kalə yaskə	zogor	kalə yaskə	zogor
Aristocracy	6	1	5	-	16	10
Koranic Malams	5	-	3	-	10	-
Canteen Traders	12	5	4	2	19	19
NA Malams	7	2	3	3	15	16
Kabuna	1	7	4	2	7	31
Craftsmen	1	7	4	2	5	38
Talaka	-	7	5	3	6	64
Low-status	-	3	1	2	2	22
Totals:	32	32	29	14	80	200

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582 done this (see b - First wife), so that twice as many first
587 marriages (29) were with kalə yaskəs than with zogors (14).
565
554 On the other hand, in the many subsequent marriages into which
463 the members of this sample entered (see c - All previous wives),
many more were with zogors (200) than with kalə yaskəs (80). It is evident that talaka and low status individuals tend overwhelmingly to marry zogors after their initial first marriage since of subsequent marriages only two were with kalə yaskəs, while eighty-one were with zogors. On the other hand, the four upper categories tend to marry kalə yaskəs more frequently than
[792] zogors. This is particularly striking for the category of Koranic Malams, all of whose ten marriages have been with kalə
[163] yaskəs. This is significant because, as will be noted below, the Koranic Malams are blessed with many children while other people have relatively few.

593 Table IX presents data on the seclusion of wives. The
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Table IX

Whether wife is secluded (kule)

	kule	partly kule	not kule
Aristocracy	4	1	-
Koranic malams	2	1	-
Canteen Traders	6	-	-
NA Malams	6	-	-
Kabuna	1	1	3
Craftsmen	-	-	6
Talaka	1	-	6
Low-status	-	-	3
Totals:	20	3	18

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593 562 565 554 463 four upper categories all seclude their wives, save for two individuals whose wives are permitted to leave the compound but who rarely go out (partly kule). In the four lower categories only a few individuals attempt to keep their wives secluded. The great majority permit their wives to leave the compound and go about the town; indeed, ordinary people would be unable to maintain themselves without the economic assistance of their wives.

2. Divorce.

586 From the data presented in Table X it is possible to obtain an estimate of the divorce rate in Geidam. Table Xa gives the total number of wives, including their present wives, to whom the members of the sample have been married. They range from four individuals who have had but one wife, to one man who has had twenty. Six of the forty-four individuals have had from thirteen to twenty wives. The median for the group is 5.5 wives (mean is 6.4). The groups do not seem to differ radically from one another.

Table Xb comprises the total number of wives (Xa) minus the number of wives to which each individual is presently married (Table VII), and thus indicates the number of divorces for each individual. They range from six individuals who have never been divorced to one man who has been divorced nineteen times. The median number of divorces for the group is 3.75 (mean is 4.88). The Koranic Malams have clearly had fewer di-

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Table X

X a

Total Number of Wives per Person

	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	-11	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19	-20
Aristocracy		1		1			1		2												
Koranic Malams			1		2																
Canteen Traders					1	1	2		1	1											
NA Malams			3	1				1								1					
Kabuna					2	1		1		1	1										
Craftsmen		1				2		1	1									1			
Talaka		2			1			1	1					1			1				1
Low-status	1			1					1					1							
Totals:	1	4	4	3	6	4	3	4	6	2	1	-	-	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	1

median = 5.5
mean = 6.4

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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X b

Number of Divorces per Person

	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	-11	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19	-20
Aristocracy	1		1		1		1	1													
Koranic Malams		1	2																		
Canteen Traders		1	2		1		2														
NA Malams	2	1	1			1								1							
Kabuna			2	1			1		1	1											
Craftsmen	1				2	1		1								1					
Talaka	1	1		1			1	1					1			1				1	
Low-status	1		1					1					1								
Totals:	6	4	9	2	4	2	5	4	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	-

median = 3.75
mean = 4.88

586 565 554 463 vorces than have other groups. In turn, the talaka have had more numerous divorces. There is a distinct tendency for the lower categories in the table, who marry overwhelmingly with zogors, as noted above, to marry and divorce more frequently than the upper categories (canteen traders and NA Malams), and in fact the Koranic Malams who marry only kalo yaskas have the lowest divorce rate.

3. Family and Household.

163 The number of living children of each of the individuals in the sample is presented in Table XI. In all, 44 adult Ka-

Table XIa
Number of Living Children

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	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Aristocracy	1	2	2						
Koranic Malams			1			1			1
Canteen Traders	1	1		2	2				
NA Malams	1	3	1	1					
Kabuna	4	1		1					
Craftsmen	4	1	1						
Talaka	7				1				
Low-status	1	2							
Totals:	19	10	5	4	3	1	-	-	1

Table XIb
Cases of Children Given Away

Aristocracy	2:	to FaYoBr after weaning to FaElSi after weaning	597 565
Koranic Malams	1:	to MoMo after weaning	554
Canteen Traders	1:	to cousin after weaning	463
NA Malams	1:	to FaElBr (chibuna) after weaning	
Kabuna	-		
Craftsmen	1:	to neighbor (chibuna) after weaning	
Talaka	1:	to FaMo at age 4	
Low-status	1:	to chibuna at age 11	
	8		

median number of children= .75

mean number of children=1.33

nuri men in this sample have 57 living children. One hundred 163
and eight children had been born to the group, but 51 of these 163 165
have died. Because of the exceptionally high infant mortality [842]
rate, children are greatly desired and prized. In addition to [164]
malaria, which is the greatest killer of infants, an extremely
high rate of venereal disease is present in Bornu, and a high
percentage of those infected are sterile and unable to bear children. 164
One factor in spreading venereal disease is the high divorce 586
rate. Frequent divorce and remarriage spreads the disease [842]
throughout the population, and results in many sterile individuals
who desperately want children. In their desire for children,
they divorce and remarry, thus spreading the disease
still further. In particular, if they marry a zogor they are

In particular, if they marry a zogor they are 586 less likely to have children than if they marry a kalə yaskə. 164 163 This probably accounts for the high birth rate among the Koranic [792] Malams (one has eight children; one has five); they have all married kalə yaskəs, so that neither they or their [565] wives are likely to be infected. On the other hand, in the [463] lower categories (kabuna, craftsmen, talaka) a majority of [634] the individuals have had no children at all. Seven of the eight talaka have no living children. This is the group with the highest divorce rate, and when they remarry they invariably marry zogors (see Table VIII) so that the chances are high that either husband or wife will be infected and sterile.

597 842 602 Table XIb reveals that eight of the 57 children who survived were given away, and grew up in the household of another family. At first, this seems difficult to reconcile with the great love for children and desire to have children. However, those who have borne a child have indicated their ability to bear others. Children are frequently given to relatives who have no children of their own, and who are probably unable to bear children but want a child badly. It may be seen that children are given away to siblings of the parent, to the child's grandparent, or to the chibuna after whom the child has been named. Six of the eight were given immediately after the child was weaned; two were given away at later ages. Giving of children at later ages is related to frequent divorce. Since the child belongs to the father, he may send the child to his mother or father should he, the father, not have an adequate home at the time.

000 have an adequate home at the time.

634 Figure 4 presents a diagram of the compound of Yerima
351 Mustapha, whose enormous household is not included in Table
592 XII. Yerima's compound is the size of a city block (79 yards by 160 yards), and is surrounded by mud walls which are ten feet tall. The shaded sections to the rear make up the women's area, and within can be seen the zagəmə of his wife (Haja Fati), and those of his chirs. (One chir left Yerima's household, so that six house areas appear in the diagram though Yerima has only five chirs.) The sole entrance into the women's area is through Yerima's personal quarters. The house areas of three additional nuclear families can be seen in the diagram. These are slave families, who raise their children within Yerima's household. Several store houses are present, as well as a large inner courtyard in which six or seven of Yerima's horses are kept. Other houses provide living quarters for the numerous slaves, tata njima, and retainers (walidi) who comprise the bulk of the household. Alongside the entrance (chinna) and facing the dandal is a row of official offices which are in fact an integral part of the Ajari.

592 The principles of household affiliation have been de-
565 scribed in the previous chapter. In Table XII the actual
554 composition of forty-three households is presented. In each
463 row are found the various individuals who comprise a single household. Thus the four first rows represent the category of the aristocracy in the sample. (As noted the household

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 213]

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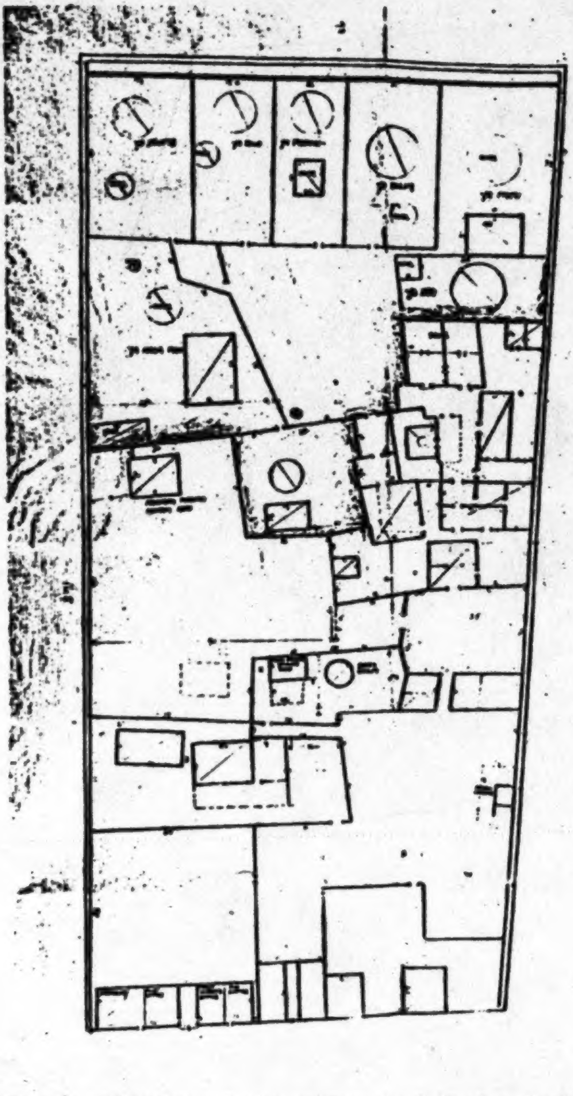

Figure 4 - Diagram of the compound of Yerima Mustapha.

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Table XIIa

Household Composition

	wives	children-	tata njima	relatives	wife's relatives	zogors	chibuna	others	yal total	household total
Aristocracy (minus Yerima)	2	1	1	-	WiYoSi	ElBrDa	1	-	4	8
	1	1	2	FaCou	-	-	-	-	3	6
	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	7
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3 friend's children	3	7
Koranic Malams	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	6
	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	7
	2	2	-	Mo	-	-	-	student	2	7
Canteen Traders	2	2	-	Mp YoBr + Wi	-	-	-	-	0	5
	2	0	-	YoBr+Wi+Da	-	-	-	-	6	9
	3	1	2	-	-	-	2	-	4	9
	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	9
	2	0	5	-	-	-	-	friend+Wi	7	10
	4	3	2	-	-	-	2	malam+Wi: 5 students	11	19
NA Malams	1 (1 chir)	1	7	YoBr;YoSi	-	1	-	-	10	14
	2	2	-	YoBr	-	-	-	Fa's chibuna + Wi	3	8
	1	1	-	2 YoBr	WiYoSi	-	-	-	3	6
	2	2	2	ElBrSo	(ElWiYoBr (ElWiYoSi	1	-	-	6	11
	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
	1	-	1	FaBrSo	-	cousin	-	-	3	5

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Table XIIa (continued)

	wives	chil-dren	tata njima	rela-tives	wife's rela-tives	zogors	chi-buna	others	yal total	house-hold total
Kabuna	2	0	1	-	-	YoWiYoSi	-	YoWi's chibuna	3	6
	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	0	0	-	-	-	YoSi	-	-	1	2
	2	3	1	ElBrSo	-	-	-	-	2	8
	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	1	0	2	Mo	-	-	-	-	2	5
Craftsmen	1	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	5
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	2	0	-	MoBrSo	-	-	-	-	1	4
	2	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	6
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
Talaka	1	0	-	-	-	-	ElBrSo	-	1	3
	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	5
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
	0	0	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	Wi's gr.so	-	-	-	1	3
Low-status	0	0	-	(lives in ElBr's house)					-	4
	1	0	-	-	WiElBrDa	-	-	-	1	3
	1	0	-	2 YoSi cousin	-	-	-	-	3	5
	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3

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2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14
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Table XIIb

Summary of Household Composition Table (XIIa)

Totals for 43 households:

38 Tata njima

21 relatives of household head: 3 Mo; 6 YoBr (2 with wives, 1 YoBrDa); 3 YoSi; 2 ElBrSo; 4 cousins

6 relatives of wife of household head: 3 WiYoSi; 1 WiYoBr; 1 WiElBrDa; 1 Wi's grandson.

7 zogors: 4 relatives; 3 not family.

6 chibuna

16 others: comprising - Wi's chibuna; Fa's chibuna + Wife; malam + Wi and 5 students; friend + Wi; 3 friends' children; student of Koranic malam.

Mean Number of Tata Njima and mean number of Non-nuclear family in Household

	Tata Njima	Yal Members	Mean size of Total Household
Aristocracy (- Yerima)	1.8	3.5	7.0
Koranic Malams	0	.67	6.67
Canteen Traders	1.5	4.67	10.2
NA Malams	1.8	4.3	8.2
Kabuna	.67	1.3	4.5
Craftsmen	1.0	1.2	3.5
Talaka	.13	.5	2.75
Low-status	0	1.0	3.75

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592 of Yerima Mustapha is not included.)

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Household composition has been broken down into the following categories: wives and children (which have already been discussed), tata njima, relatives of the household head, relatives of the wives of the household head, zogors, chibuna named after the household head, and miscellaneous others. The term yal refers to members of the household who are not part of the nuclear families of the household head. The final column gives the total size for each of the forty-three households in the table. It may be seen that household size ranges from two to nineteen members.

Table XIIb presents a summary of the information in Table XIIa. There are 38 tata njima attached to the present 43 households, but in looking at the mean number of tata njima in the various categories, it is apparent that they are found largely in four categories: those of the aristocracy, the canteen traders, the NA Malams and the craftsmen. Tata njima included in Table XIIa are only those actually living in the compound of the household head. The canteen traders in particular have a number of tata njima who are married and live in their own compounds but return to their "master's" house to eat their meals. These have not been included here. Relatives of the household head are primarily younger siblings (6 YoBr; 3 YoSi) and some even have their wives and children with them. There are three cases of mothers living with married sons, but no fathers. In no case of the present 44

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592 households is there any indication of patrilocal residence and
of a patrilocal extended family. The only approximation is
found in the cases of elderly mothers living with their married
sons, and in the case of married younger brothers with wife
and child. More distant relatives are also found; although two
cases of ElBrSo are present, in no case is there an elder
brother living in the household of his younger brother, where
the younger brother is the acknowledged household head. The
same is true of a wife's relatives living in the household of
her husband. There are six cases of this; four are younger
siblings of the wife, one is her ElBrDa, and one a grandson.
592 An older sibling of the wife is nowhere present. The same pat-
586 tern is evident in the zogors who are temporarily a part of a
household, after a divorce. A zogor returns to the household
of her luwali. Seven zogors are present in the above house-
holds. Three are not related to the household head who served
as luwali; four are relatives--a YoSi, an ElBrDa, a YoSi of
the wife and a cousin.

592 Corresponding to the eight children who were given away
597 to relatives or to chibuna by the members of the sample are
565
463 the children given to members of the sample and growing up in
[553] their houses. There are six chibuna, young children named
after the household head and growing up in his house, who are
a part of the present group of households. Four of these are
found in the canteen traders, one in the aristocracy, and one
592
597 (an ElBrSo) among the talaka. It is evident, therefore, that

592 chibuna tend to be given to higher-status household heads.
597 The chibuna relationship is also found in the last miscellaneous
category which includes a wife's chibuna in one household,
and a chibuna of the household head's father plus that
592 man's wife in another household. Friends and friends' children,
and finally a Malam, his wife and five students taken
into the household as an act of charity, are also found in
the miscellaneous category.

592 Most of the households in the sample contain individuals
566 who are not members of the nuclear family of the household
554
463 head. These make up his yal. The mean size of yal (Table
XIIb) varies widely from group to group. For five groups it
is small (Koranic Malams, kabuna, craftsmen, talaka, low-status
individuals), with approximately one additional person in each
household. For three groups (aristocracy, canteen traders, NA
Malams) the yal is fairly large with the highest mean (4.67
members of the yal) occurring among the canteen traders. Finally,
the range in total size of household for each of the
eight groups can be seen in the lower right-hand column of
[162] Table XIIb. The mean size of household for the group of canteen
traders is 10.2, while the mean size of household for the
group of talaka is 2.75. This range represents the difference
between the nuclear family of Geidam talaka, who have but one
wife and very few children, and the household of a wealthy
trader, with several wives, children and a large yal.

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G. Social Stratification in Geidam.

56 178 177 369 Social stratification in Geidam may be viewed in terms of the interaction of three sets of variables. These are: the traditional Kanuri system of social stratification; the social structure of an urban community; and the influences on Kanuri culture brought about by contact with the Industrial West.

1. The traditional stratification system in Geidam.

565 Aristocracy in Geidam is represented by a handful of individuals. However, though they are few they occupy the [554] positions of greatest power in the community. The term aristocrat properly refers only to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, for only he holds a noble title granted him by the Shehu. However, Alkali Baba Kura, the son of a chief Imam and himself a powerful figure in the judiciary, and Sidi Momo, Yerima's nephew and an NA messenger in Geidam, must also be considered to belong to the aristocracy, particularly in view of their close ties through kinship with members of the aristocracy. Kinship links to the aristocracy, however, are an ambiguous criterion, since kinship is not always the determining factor in succession. Moreover, a number of other individuals in Geidam, particularly among the NA Malams, are also able to trace ties of kinship to the aristocracy.

567 Slaves are a distinctive social element in the community only if their masters, too, are present as members of the com-

567 munity. Yerima has a great many slaves in Geidam who serve as kabuna and as members of his household. Yerima's slaves, therefore, are important in Geidam. Kaigama, the previous Ajia, also had many slaves and though many went with him when he was transferred to another district, others stayed behind and continued living in Geidam. The fact that they are slaves is not important because since Kaigama is no longer present in Geidam, the master-slave relationship through which they derive the status of slave has become latent. Should Kaigama ever return to Geidam, or should his slaves ever go to Damboa where Kaigama now is, their status as slave might again become active. The case of Lowan Ashek is a good illustration of this. It is less significant that he is a slave of Kaigama, the former Ajia, than that he is a kabuna of Yerima's and swears allegiance to Yerima. This situation may also be seen in the behavior of Alkali Baba Kura to his slaves. In the nineteenth century Geidam was part of the fief granted to the chief Imam, and administered by one of his slaves as a kalyari. Alkali Baba Kura is a direct descendant of the chief Imam so that many people in Geidam are in fact his slaves, slaves of his grandfather whom he in turn inherited. However, Alkali Baba Kura does not recognize these people as slaves and refuses to accept either his obligations as a master or their obligations to him as his slaves. He has no chirs, though he could have many if he chose to realize the potential relationship which exists between him and many people in Geidam. The

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567 status of slave therefore does not really exist as an important determinant in defining the place of these people within the Geidam community structure.

565 In terms of the traditional stratification system, most of the people of Geidam are talaka, neither aristocracy nor slaves.

2. Urban Social Structure.

463 369 565 The second variable, urban social structure, is much more important in defining social stratification in Geidam. Most Geidamites are specialists of one sort or another. In contrast to the village farming population, most of the people of Geidam make a living by practicing some special skill. They are middlemen in trade, craftsmen, religious specialists and bureaucrats in the political system. It is primarily this differentiation which defines the community as an urban community.

463 565 One might divide the various specialties found in the community of Geidam in a number of ways. Specialties requiring manual skills might be contrasted with those requiring intellectual abilities; specialties requiring long periods of training might be grouped and compared with those requiring only a little specialized training. The approach adopted here in dividing the various specialists in the Geidam community into groups which might be compared is to look at the sphere of culture with which each of these groups of specialists is concerned. Thus there are several groups of specialists in

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463 565 Geidam whose activities fall primarily in the economic sphere of Kanuri culture. The activities of other specialists are concerned largely with the political sphere of Kanuri culture. Still others specialize in the religious sphere of their culture. Though the distinctions are never absolute, and in a sense all individuals are involved in every aspect of their culture, it is clear that, for example, one group is more concerned with the economic aspects of their culture than with the religious aspects, as they carry out the behavior which characterizes that group. Though all traders pray (along with everyone else), their activities as traders are primarily concerned with economics and not with religion; though all Malams handle currency (along with everyone else), their activities as Malams are primarily concerned with religion. For any given individual, group membership is operationally defined by the amount of time which he devotes to a given type of activity. Thus the craftsman spends most of his time at his craft, the trader spends his time trading, and the Koranic Malam studies and teaches the Koran.

3. The Influence of Contact with the Industrial West.

56 177 [559] The third variable which must be considered in looking at social stratification in Geidam is the influence of contact with the Industrial West. In discussing this factor it is necessary to look once again at the dimensions which determine social position in Kanuri culture: power, wealth,

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177 prestige, and the distinction between slave and free-born.

[554] The direct influence of the British colonial administration
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567 has removed the legal support behind the master-slave
565 relationship, so that slaves can no longer be bought and sold,
648 and slaves who have run away cannot be forcibly returned to their masters by the police. This has radically altered the relation between master and slave, so that the distinction between slave and free-born is significant only in special cases.

64 By and large, the colonial administration, because of
177 its policy of indirect rule, has allowed political power to
178
565 remain in the hands of the same segments of the society as previously held power. However, some changes have been made by the British, so that representatives are elected to a
634 Northern House of Assembly and to a Federal Legislature. In Geidam,
177 political power is largely in the hands of the Ajia, who
178
565 typifies the aristocracy. Yerima Mustapha as Ajia of Geidam is a perfect example of the aristocrat who has skillfully adapted to the changes demanded of a present-day Ajia, and at the same time has succeeded in perpetuating the old social order. Other positions of power such as those of the Lowans, are held by men faithful to him, chosen from his kabuna, another traditional group which has continued on into the present in
[648] Geidam. The position of Alkali in Geidam is held by still another member of the aristocracy; and what is more, the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura, was elected representative to the

634 Northern House of Assembly. An elected office created by the
177 British which is an important new source of power has been
178
565 successfully captured by a member of the old aristocracy which
[648] previously held all political power. Other new offices created by the colonial administration are to be found in the
634 District and Town Councils. Thus far, the District and Town
632 Councils in Geidam are dominated by the Ajia. But the member-
177
178 ship of the Town Council in particular is largely composed of
565 wealthy traders and a few craftsmen, who are all talaka. These
665 talaka do not yet have real political power but they have more
648 symbolic power than talaka have ever had before, and their positions may in time give them real power. The same is also true for the officers of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) in Geidam, who are also talaka and controlled by the Ajia, but who may in time emerge with real power through their positions within the dominant political party in Bornu and in Northern Nigeria. As yet, rival political parties in the North, the Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU) and the Bornu Youth Movement (BYM), have been effective only in large cities like Maiduguri. They have made little impression in Geidam.

439 Perhaps the greatest changes in community structure have
177 been those brought about by influences of the Industrial West
433 on trade, particularly on external trade. Though trade has always been important in Kanuri culture and middlemen in trade have always existed as specialists in Kanuri cities, it is probable that a larger proportion of the total economy is de-

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177 voted to production for export today than during any previous
439 period. The roles of those involved in this external trade
433 with the Western world have changed profoundly as this aspect
of Kanuri economy grew in importance in this century.

177 Goods imported into Geidam from Western centers have
439 also affected Kanuri culture. The large quantities of cloth,
463 which represent the most important item imported, have brought
433 about the disappearance of Kanuri weaving and thus have led
[286] to the elimination of one craft group, the weavers. Other
crafts have been affected to a lesser extent by the importation of other manufactured goods (enamelware, buckets, rubber shoes) but the craftsmen as a group have continued to make and sell their products and services, without any direct influence from Western culture.

177 In similar fashion, the Geidam market shows only slight
439 signs of the effects of contact with the West, and those en-
441 gaged in trade within the market-place are little affected
443 by the contact. This is in sharp contrast to tradesmen who are involved in external trade, where the effects of contact are pronounced. Those most involved are the canteen traders who deal directly with the European trading companies in Gei-
[555] dam. As a result of their success in dealing with agents of the Western world, they have become an important and wealthy group in the community.

177 Lastly, Western education has had its effect on social
871 stratification. Though individuals in Geidam who have received

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177 Western education are few in number, they form a significant
871 category in the community. In their most advanced form they
[632] are represented by the class of NA Malams, who are best cate-
gorized as a group which functions primarily as part of the
177 political structure. Since traditional formal education was
871 entirely in the hands of the Koranic Malams, this area of in-
554 fluence affects them most directly. Learning in Kanuri cul-
ture has always been associated with prestige, and the most
learned people were also among the most respected. This is
true for Koranic Malams, and is also true, to an extent, for
those who receive a Western education since they, too, are
[578] referred to as "Malam." As a result of this, a conflict has
arisen concerning the two forms of education, and the rela-
177 tive merits of each. However, since Western-educated indi-
871 viduals who continue their education and receive specialized
632 training tend to accept NA positions--so that the best edu-
cated individuals in Geidam are all NA Malams--the primary
activities of Western-educated Kanuri are associated with the
political system. Therefore they are not in conflict with
those, such as the scholars of the Koran, who are concerned
primarily with religion. Rather, they threaten individuals
who, through traditional associations, are involved in the
political system but have received little or no Western edu-
cation.

177 It is evident from the above discussion that contact with
178 the Western world has created new paths to wealth, power, and
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177 prestige in addition to those previously available in Kanuri
178 culture, and that these new paths are sometimes in conflict
554 with the traditional paths. These conflicts in turn have
565 brought about shifts in the relative positions of certain
groups in the community structure, particularly among the
talaka. The position of these groups in relation to one an-
other in the community of Geidam represents the social struc-
56 ture of Geidam. The social structure of Geidam, then, is a
178 result of the interaction of the three variables discussed
369 here: the traditional system of social stratification, the
177 urban nature of the community, and the influences upon it of
the Industrial West.

[p.224-A]

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Chapter IV

Conceptual Framework of the Study

A. Theoretical Concepts

121 Since the present study is concerned with the process of acculturation as it occurs within the various groups which make up the social structure of the community of Geidam, it is necessary to describe precisely the theoretical concepts which will be employed.

1. Concepts dealing with social structure.

Some time back Raymond Firth attempted to clarify the problem of dealing analytically with a changing social system. This is precisely the problem of the present study. Firth differentiated between social structure and social organization, noting that, "Continuity is expressed in the social structure, the sets of relations which make for firmness of expectation, for validation of past experience in terms of similar experience in the future. Members of a society look for a reliable guide to action, and the structure of the society gives this--through its family and kinship system, class relations, occupational distribution, and so on. At the same time there must be room for variance and for the explanation of variance. This is found in the social organization, the systematic ordering of social relations by acts of choice and decision."[1] The basic distinction which Firth makes will be adhered to in the present discussion. In addition, his introduction of the notion of

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[1] Raymond Firth, Elements of Social Organization (London: Watts and Co. 1951), p. 40.

121 choices through which social relations are ordered will serve as a focal point in the discussion of acculturation which follows.

The first necessary set of distinctions to be made in analyzing social structure is that which differentiates social groups from social categories. A social group is typified by a high degree of interaction among its members and an internal structuring of its membership. A social category is not internally structured, nor do its members interact frequently. Its definition is dependent on the common response which members of a category will make towards members of another category, and consequently a social category is defined by the interchangeability of its members in contrast to other categories. A family, household, or lineage is an example of a social group; fathers, household heads and aristocrats are examples of social categories. Social categories can shade into social groups since they sometimes take on the defining characteristics of a group to some degree.

The definition of a social category put forth here may be compared with that used by Fortes in the following selection. "Just what we mean by a homogeneous society is still rather vague though we all use the term lavishly. The working definition I make use of is that a homogeneous society is ideally one in which any person in the sense given to this term by Radcliffe-Brown in his recent (1950) essay, can be substituted for any other person of the same category without bringing

121 about changes in the social structure. This implies that any two persons of the same category have the same body of customary usages and beliefs."[1] The qualification "of the same category" used by Fortes is obviously intended to refer only to age and sex categories, for an extension of the idea of social categories beyond this limited notion would allow the substitution of individuals of the same category in any society, even the most complex societies. Since Fortes was defining a homogeneous society, he could not have meant to imply this extension of the concept of "category." It is precisely this extension which is the aim of the definition of social category put forth here.

Social category is merely another way to look at status. Instead of emphasizing position, as the concept of status does, social category emphasizes the similarities between individuals who occupy the same status. Social groups are almost always internally ordered into differing statuses, but social categories (or statuses) can exist without being social groups.

Linton proposed the paired concepts of status and role--the latter term to be used in referring to behavior which is associated with a given status. The concepts of status and of role are most readily seen in paired, or dyadic relationships. The status of ego is clarified when it is contrasted with the status of alter. Ego's role can only be seen when he inter-

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[1] Meyer Fortes, Op. cit., p. 36.

121 acts with alter, so that the concept of role is really a reciprocal one which depends on the interaction of two or more people.

Robert Merton has recently proposed extensions of the concepts of role and status.[1] He views each social status as involving not a single role but an array of roles, and he suggests the term "role-set" for this cluster of roles associated with a single status. The particular role which an individual "selects" is dependent on the group of individuals with whom he is interacting at a given time. His role will vary in accordance with the nature of these "alters." In the presence of one set of individuals he plays one role and behaves accordingly; in the presence of a different set of individuals he plays a different role and his behavior toward them is very different from that which he showed in the presence of the previous group. Analogous to Merton's idea of role-set is his term status-set, which refers to the multiple statuses which any individual occupies. In each of the many statuses which make up an individual's status-set, he has an associated role-set. At any given time, his one active status determines his role-set, and the particular role which he enacts or chooses from the role-set is determined by the individual (or group of individuals) with whom he is interacting at the time.

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1. Robert Merton, "The Role-Set: Problems in Sociological Theory," The British Journal of Sociology, VIII, No. 2, (1957), pp. 106-120.

121 In considering the simplest forms of interaction between two individuals, it is apparent that roles involve behavior which may be appropriate or inappropriate on the part of both individuals. Linton referred to appropriate behavior on the part of the role-player as his duty, and to the appropriate behavior of his alter as his right. "A status, as distinct from the individual who may occupy it, is simply a collection of rights and duties."[1] Goodenough, in a recent paper, focuses his attention on the formal analysis of status-connected rights and duties.[2] Rather than rights and duties, the terms that will be used here are: expectations and obligations. Expectations and obligations are terms introduced by Goffman.[3] They are preferable to Linton's terms because they have less connotation of legal sanctions, and refer rather to every-day behavior. Goffman uses the concepts with great effect, for example, to analyze "good" and "bad" manners. Role behavior therefore refers to reciprocal behavior in which the individ-

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1. Ralph Linton, _The Study of Man_ (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1936), p. 113.

2. Ward H. Goodenough, "Formal Properties of Status Relationships," paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association in Philadelphia, November, 1961. (mimeographed).

3. Erving Goffman, "The Nature of Deference and Demeanor," _American Anthropologist_, 58, No. 3 (1956), p. 473-503.

121 uals in interacting roles both have their obligations to act in certain ways, as well as their expectations of how the other will act. As Goodenough points out, the terms are complementary: ego's obligations are alter's expectations, ego's expectations are alter's obligations. For an interaction to continue, obligations and expectations must conform with one another.

Choosing a particular role from a role-set automatically determines one's relevant obligations and expectations. What are the factors that lead an individual to choose one role from a number of possible roles in his role-set when he encounters another individual? The two primary factors are: his perception of the "others" whom he meets and with whom he interacts, and his view of himself (or the self which he wishes to present to others). Goffman's writings in this area of social perception are most illuminating, and show a remarkable convergence with the approach of S. F. Nadel. Nadel states, "We can express more sharply the variability of the actor as against the constancy of the contribution expected of him by describing the latter as a part meant to be played. Which is precisely what the role concept is designed to do."[1] This analogy between roles and actors, parts and performances, becomes Goffman's central theme.[2] Goffman is equally interested in actor and

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1. S. F. C. Nadel, The Theory of Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), p. 21.

2. Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959.

12| audience. Both actors and audience perceive one another as members of social categories, and each anticipates appropriate behavior from the other. Each actor guides his own behavior by the "presentation" he seeks to make and in accordance with his judgment of how it is perceived by others. If his judgments are correct, expectations are met and the interaction continues because it is understood by both participants. Goffman is particularly interested in the manner in which the actor initially presents himself, the impression that he conveys to others (the audience, from his point of view--but actors too, in the interaction), and the social categories into which others will place him. An interesting problem is that of the pertinent cues in any culture on the basis of which these judgments are made, for these cues determine the categories into which others are placed and, consequently, one's obligations to those individuals as well as one's expectations of how they will behave.

One may present a paradigm at this point. Given a particular social context which several individuals approach with desired goals, the factors entering into the choice of appropriate behavior for each of the participants would be as follows:

a) the individual's perception of himself (or the self which he wishes to present);
b) his perception of alter in the same social context;
c) his perceptions of sanctions and rewards which can proceed from each of several roles in his role-set that he might choose from;

121 d) his choice of appropriate behavior, in accordance with his perceptions, for achieving the goals with which he approached the situation.

One can choose innumerable examples to illustrate this process. The easiest to imagine is the encounter of adolescent boy and girl, in any culture.

For most encounters and interactions of this sort, the rewards are no more specific than the continuation of the interaction; sanctions of the severest sort may be brought about by abrupt termination of the interaction by alter. Sometimes sanctions of this sort are desired, by either ego or alter, as when one snubs someone or cuts someone dead. At other times sanctions occur because ego (or alter) has not perceived some aspect of the situation appropriately. "Bad" manners may be due to either possibility. The introduction of the notion of sanctions when expectations of what is appropriate are not met is central to the view of social structure presented here. The threat of sanctions is one of the forces which maintains the operation of any social organization.

The central problem of the present study is the delineation of social groups and categories of the community under study, and the identification of some of the distinctive role-sets of each group and category in terms of the obligations and expectations which make up the roles. It is necessary also to know something of how the members of these groups and categories perceive themselves, and those in other categories.

121 Lastly, it is important to know the goals, the rewards, and the sanctions in Kanuri culture. In terms of this set of basic concepts the functioning of certain aspects of Kanuri culture will be viewed through the interactions and relationships between social groups and social categories in the community of Geidam.

2. Concepts dealing with acculturation.

The view of acculturation put forth here hinges upon the idea of choices or alternatives discussed by Firth. In a recent article, Leach has used this as his central concept in analyzing Sinhalese social organization. Leach concludes by sahing, "... social structures are sometimes best regarded as the statistical outcome of multiple individual choices rather than a direct reflection of jural rules."[1] In the above quote Leach is using social structure to describe what Firth would term social organization. Murdock, in his introduction to the volume in which Leach's essay appears, comments that "... jural rules themselves are the 'outcome of multiple individual choices' in situations where one kind of choice is likely to be appreciably more strongly or regularly rewarded than possible alternative choices.... Leach's position seems to me to have the enormous advantage of making possible the utilization

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[1] E. R. Leach, "The Sinhalese of the Dry Zone of Northern Ceylon," in Social Structure in Southeast Asia, edited by George P. Murdock (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960), pp. 123-124.

(2) of psychological principles and of scientific knowledge concerning the dynamics of cultural change in the interpretations of cultural systems."[1]

Alternatives are probably present in all cultures to some extent, and a degree of variation is implied in Leach's statement that social structures are sometimes best regarded as the statistical outcome of multiple individual choices. Indeed, one can view deviants in a culture from this point of view, as individuals who have chosen behavioral alternatives which differ from the cultural norm. In the present study, however, we are concerned with alternatives which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with external sources. It is clear from the picture of Kanuri culture presented above that these alternatives have been introduced as possibilities in certain aspects of Kanuri culture, and to certain groups and categories but not to others. The groups and categories which are most affected are those which are in regular interaction with the sources of outside influence.

New alternatives are presented to these groups and categories, and when members of these groups and categories exercise choices which have become newly available to them, variations in behavior are introduced. When choices and decisions represent variations that are consistently in one direction, away from cultural norms, then culture change is occurring in

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[1] George P. Murdock, "Cognatic Forms of Social Organization," Ibid., p. 9.

121 that group. If the consistent acceptance of new choices continues for a sufficiently long period, or involves the introduction of radically new alternatives, it will alter the relationship between that group and other groups and categories in the culture. It may even lead to the formation of new social groups or categories. In either case we would say that the social structure itself would then have become altered.

In such a group or category undergoing acculturation, roles are undergoing expansion and change. This implies that the obligations and expectations of its members are also changing. It was noted above that the choice of a particular role in a role-set was dependent on the "others" with whom the individual in question was interacting, that furthermore it depended on the view of the "self" that he wished to present, the view of "others" that he held in relation to himself, and the view of himself that he thought others might see and believe. In an acculturation situation each of these conditions is undergoing change. The individual's view of himself is no longer a stable one, since, as his position in relation to others changes, his view of himself changes. The self that he wishes to present to others may consequently not be clear either to himself or to them, and he will be even less sure of how credible this "self" will be to others, whether they will accept it and act on it.

An acculturation situation therefore is one in which errors in perception of many sorts are possible. The relationship between groups and categories is undergoing change, and

121 members of differing groups are no longer secure in their expectations from others. Though the larger cultural goals may continue to operate, groups may find that previously unattainable goals are now within reach. Though the nature of sanctions may remain the same, individuals are uncertain when they might anticipate sanctions. In choosing a particular path to achieve his goals, an individual may find that his behavior towards others brings about sanctions. He then must determine whether he can achieve his goals despite these sanctions, and whether the goals are worth the difficulties which are thus brought about, or whether he must abandon behavior of that sort.

B. The Nature of the Data.

12 The data on which the present study is based lie along two dimensions, social structure and acculturation. The manner in which data was chosen for study and collected for each of these variables will be discussed in the following section.

1. Delineating community social structure.

124 Eight groups and categories were selected for analysis. These certainly do not exhaust the total number of social groups and categories to be found in the community of Geidam. They merely represent eight clearly definable social units, each operating within a distinctive sphere of Kanuri culture. These eight groups and categories are themselves resultant from the interaction of variables which bring about community social

124 structure as described in the closing section of the previous chapter.

They are as follows:

124 565 463 1. Aristocracy - a small social group, functioning largely within the area of political organization. Five members of this group were chosen for study.

[792] 2. Koranic Malams - a social category, functioning largely within the area of religion. Some internal structuring occurs within this category. Three members were chosen for study.

[441] 3. Canteen Traders - a social category, functioning largely within the area of economics. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 4. NA Malams - a social category, but since it is small in size and because its members, having much in common, tend to interact, it has certain group characteristics. It functions largely in the area of political organization. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 5. Kabuna - a social group functioning largely within the area of political organization. Six members of this group were chosen for study.

6. Craftsmen - a large social category, encompassing many types of craft specialists who form groups within the general category. The craftsmen function largely in the area of economics. Six members were chosen for study.

7. Talaka - an extremely large and heterogeneous social cate-

124 565 463 gory, including many sorts of individuals, but limited here to those who are not full-time specialists, yet perform some non-skilled activity in addition to farming. Eight members of this category were chosen for study.

[559] 8. Low-status Individuals - a social category made up of specialists who traditionally have a low status in Kanuri culture. These are full-time specialists, who usually learn their specialty from their fathers. Four members of this category were chosen for study.

124 The forty-four individuals in the eight groups and categories who make up the sample for the present study are found listed in Table XIII. Though it would have been desirable to have chosen the individuals making up the sample through some randomizing method, which would have eliminated the possibility of the selection of informants who are good examples of the author's thesis, this was not possible because of the conditions
125 of field work. As will be explained in the following section, data on acculturation was obtained from each of these forty-four informants through a long questionnaire which took two hours to administer and which included a number of questions dealing
124 with sensitive topics. It was necessary to establish close relations with each of the forty-four individuals included in the present study before he could be used as an informant. This eliminated the possibility of choosing informants in a random way. It may be added, however, that the author was well aware of this problem at the time that the study was done. He consciously tried to handle the problem of bias by selecting as informants individuals who were good examples of the group or

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 242]

Table XIII

List of Individuals Making up the Sample

115	1. Aristocracy:	Yerima Mustapha-	Ajia of Geidam.
565	(6)	Lowan Ashek-	A Lowan of Geidam.
463		Lowan Kagu-	A former Lowan of Geidam.
551		Malam Jalo-	An NA appointee in charge of the ferry; had been offered a Lowanship but refused it.
124		Sidi Momon-	Nephew of Yerima; an NA Messenger.
[792]	2. Koranic Malams:		
	(3)	Liman Bashir-	Liman Zomabe of Geidam (leads Friday prayers).
		Liman Habib-	Liman Ngumeribe of Geidam (leads prayers on religious holidays).
		Malam Baba Gonyi-	a Malam attached to Yerima's household.
[441]	3. Canteen Traders:		
	(6)	Alhaji Malam Modu Karabima-	a dealer in hides and skins who buys for a European trading company.
		Malam Momon Gordo-	operator of a canteen dealing in cloth.
		Alhaji Amadu Kolon-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Abacha Modu-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Bukar Dan Alkali-	a dealer in kola nuts and cattle.
		Alhaji Shetima-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
[634]	4. NA Malams:	Malam Ali Mandara-	Chief Scribe of Geidam.
	(6)	Malam Bulama-	Treasurer of Geidam.
		Malam Kasem-	Veterinary official.
		Malam Maidugu-	Head-master of the primary school in Geidam.
		Malam Ali Malami-	Dispenser.
		Malam Bulama-	Agricultural expert.

Table XIII (continued)

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5. Kabuna: (6)	Wakil Guloma-	one of the important kabuna.
	Bukar Gublo-	a minor kabuna.
	Grema Momon-	a young kabuna of intermediary rank.
	Wakil Ali Geje-	Yerima's assistant; head of all the kabuna.
	Bukar Bultuawu-	a minor kabuna.
	Kəngədi-	one of the important kabuna.
6. Craftsmen: (6)	Malam Chiari Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Kazela Modu Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Mastapha Alima-	a dyer.
	Malam Modu Kəlidama-	a leather-worker.
	Modu Kəlidama (the younger)-	a leather-worker.
	Bukar Wanzama-	a barber.
7. Talaka: (8)	Adamu-	a tabarma who sells in the market-place.
	Momadu Fərashama-	a sewer of horse-blankets sold in the market-place.
	Malam Shani-	a laborer who works for one of the European trading companies.
	Malam Gumbo-	a seller of gowns in the market-place.
	Tijani-	a fətkema who sells in the market-place.
	Ali Goroma-	a retail seller of kola nuts in the market-place.
	Lowan Limami-	a low level retainer of the Ajia's who does not have a horse.
	Baba Mainta-	a dealer in almost anything for a commission.

Table XIII (continued)

115 8. Low-status Individuals:

551 (4) Bukar Mandalma- a tanner.

554 Yahuda Gundama- a praise-singer and drummer.

124 Mastapha Mandalma- a tanner.

463 Abdu Gurzam- a butcher.

Total: 44 individuals.

124 category which they were to represent. It was required that an informant be a full-time specialist in the activities which characterize any group or category. It is evident that a Koranic Malam, an NA Malam, a Kabuna, a Craftsman, or a member of the Low-status group (tanners, butchers and praise-singers) are members of a clear-cut group or category. Individuals with ambiguous roles were not included in the sample. In the case of the Aristocracy, the Canteen Traders, and the Talaka, judgments were involved in the selection of informants. A decision had to be made as to whether the Aristocrats in Geidam were restricted solely to Yerima Mustapha or whether the group might be enlarged to include others as well who were far below Yerima in social prestige. A decision had to be made which separated the category of Canteen Traders from the many less successful tradesmen in Geidam. A decision also had to be made concerning the defining criteria for the category designated as "Talaka" in the study.

Once individuals were singled out who met the criteria for membership in the eight groups and categories, they were contacted through intervening people, and a relationship with them was established. In time this led to the use of the selected individual as an informant in the study. Every effort was made to avoid choosing acculturated individuals in those categories where it was predicted that greater acculturation would occur, and unacculturated individuals where they would be predicted to occur. Indeed, it will become clear that biased selection on

124 the part of the investigator with respect to the variable of acculturation can have played little or no part in obtaining the present results, since the various groups and categories which were used in the study themselves differ in the areas of culture in which they are acculturated. There is no simple division into acculturated and unacculturated groups.

2. Measures of Acculturation.

121 114 Much of the year spent in the field in the town of Geidam was devoted to work in two problem areas: delineation of community social structure, which was described above, and working out measures of acculturation. In the final three months spent in Geidam the actual data on which the present study is based [122] were collected. Until that time it was necessary to acquire a general understanding of Kanuri culture, to learn the language, and to see the areas in which Kanuri culture was most affected by external influences.

125 124 Data on acculturation were acquired through a questionnaire-interview, administered in Kanuri to forty-four informants. The questionnaire comprises seventy-five parts, many of these long and complex questions requiring discursive answers. It took approximately two hours to interview each informant. 125 177 Thirty of the seventy-five questions were concerned with measures of acculturation. These are presented in Table XIV. It can be seen that the measures of acculturation refer to a wide variety of behavioral areas. These include: language; posses-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 246]

Table XIV

Acculturation Measures in the Questionnaire

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1. What languages beside Kanuri do you speak?
2. Can you read? In what script can you read?
3. Do you have: a wrist watch, a bicycle, a radio, photographs of yourself, a horse?
4. Can you ride a bicycle?
5. Can you tell time?
6. What is the use of a wrist watch?
7. Which is more useful, a horse or a bicycle? Why?
8. Which would you rather have, a horse or a bicycle?
9. Do you smoke cigarettes?
10. Do you drink beer?
11. Do you fast during Ashem (Ramadan)?
12. Do you fast during Tsuro Mbulo (a minor fast)?
13. Do you wear charms (laya)?
14. Do you wear European-made shoes?
15. Do you wear European trousers?
16. Would you go to a European doctor if you were ill?
17. Which is more effective in curing disease, European medicine or drinking the ink which was used to write verses of the Koran (alo)?
18. Does a Kanuri doctor know how to set bones better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat jaundice better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat snake bite better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat head ache better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat small-pox better than a European doctor?

Table XIV (continued)

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Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat internal pain better than a European doctor?

19. If you had a complaint against a man, would you take him to court or would you take him before the Lowan or Ajia for sholo (arbitration)?

20. If you became rich and a man came to you and said that he needed a new kulugu (gown), would you give it to him?

21. Would you send your daughter to the European school?

22. What sort of work would you most like to do, if you could do anything you desired?

23. Which would you rather be: a truck driver, a Lowan, a dispenser (or doctor), or a Malam of the Koran?

24. Would you marry a woman who was not Kanuri?

25. Would you marry a Hausa woman? a Fulani woman? a Moslem Babur woman? a Moslem Yoruba woman?

26. Would you marry a Kanuri woman who had gone to school and who spoke English?

27. Would you let your wife go to work as a dispenser or a school-teacher?

28. Would you want your sons to attend the European school?

29. Would you rather have them go to a Koranic Malam or to the European school to study?

30. What would you most want your son to become?

3

125 177 sion, use, and knowledge of Western material culture; evaluations of the usefulness of such items; religious behavior; attitudes toward Western medical practices and the effectiveness of such treatment; attitudes toward traditional ways of arbitrating disputes and towards traditional forms of Kanuri generosity; attitudes toward preferred types of occupations for the individual being questioned and for his sons; attitudes toward Western education for both sons and daughters; attitudes toward marriage with women outside Kanuri culture and with acculturated women; attitudes toward behavior which should be permitted one's wife.

125 The forty-five remaining questions in the questionnaire-interview are concerned with various facets of the individual's life history. The initial twenty-five questions deal with the individual's wives and children, family of orientation and family of procreation, and his household. 125 128 The information obtained from a number of these questions provide the basis for many of the tables in the previous chapter, particularly those on kinship and household, where the sample used is that described in the present sections. 125 Many of the earlier questions provide important information on the relative positions of the groups and categories. Thus information on number of wives, whether they were kalə yaskəs or zogors, size of yal, etc. reveal a great deal about each group and category. Fifteen other questions are concerned with friendships, visiting patterns, and eating arrangements, all factors in the position of a group

125 or category within the social structure. There are five miscellaneous questions at the end of the interview.

C. The Relationship between Social Structure and Acculturation.

121 An individual's position as a member of a social group or social category is considered to be the independent variable in the present study. The manner and the rate in which he becomes acculturated is considered to be dependent on his position in the social structure. It is possible to derive several general hypotheses from this basic view. These are:

1. Groups and categories making up the social structure of a community vary in their degree of acculturation.
2. Groups and categories in the social structure acculturate in differing areas of culture at different rates. These differences are determined by the relation of the particular group or category to a given aspect of culture (economics, political organization, etc.).

The above hypotheses are straightforward and easily tested by comparing various groups as to their relative degree of acculturation in several areas. They derive directly from the position that new behavioral alternatives are made available to certain groups and categories in the social structure, so that these groups show evidence of acculturation long before others. Furthermore, members of groups and categories become aware of new alternatives in certain areas of culture because their role

121 behavior falls largely in these areas. They may therefore become acculturated in certain behavioral areas but not in others.

3. Groups and categories which have become acculturated in certain areas will show strong tendencies to reaffirm strict behavioral norms in others.

A group which has become very acculturated has altered its relationship to other groups within the social structure. As it continues to deviate further and further, it ceases to meet the expectations of others who begin to exert sanctions against the deviant group. Unless that group leaves the culture, which is always a possibility, it must respond to the sanctions. The predicted method of response will be to reaffirm their acceptance of group opinion by adhering even more strictly to the cultural norms in some other behavioral area.

The nature of the sanctions which operate in the above situation depend on the acculturating group and its relationship to other groups. Sanctions arise as this group interacts with others in the social structure. The principles which govern the relationships between groups and categories continue to operate in a situation of rapid culture change, preventing any single group from changing radically so long as it continues to remain part of the same social structure, by the exercise of various forms of sanctions, which may be extremely subtle in character.

[p.248-A]

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Chapter V

Analysis of the Data

[GEIDAM]

128 The data elicited by the questionnaire-interview form the basis of the present chapter. They will be presented in the form of tables, each of which is discussed in the text. The tables are grouped according to areas of information with which they deal. They will be presented in the following order:

Table XV.	Age distribution of the sample.
Table XVI.	Knowledge of other languages.
Table XVII.	Ability to read.
Table XVIII.	Western Material Goods: possession.
Table XIX.	Western Material Goods: knowledge about material items.
Table XX.	Western Material Goods: ideas about usefulness.
Table XXI.	Western Material Goods: comparison of horse and bicycle.
Table XXII.	Western Material Goods: cigarettes and beer.
Table XXIII.	Western Material Goods: wearing shoes and trousers.
Table XXIV.	Religious Behavior: fasting during a minor fast.
Table XXV.	Religious Behavior: wearing charms.
Table XXVI.	Western Medicine: going to a doctor; effectiveness of medicine.
Table XXVII.	Western Medicine: treatment of six diseases.
Table XXVIII.	Arbitration of disputes: before the Lowan or in court.
Table XXIX.	Charity and generosity: giving a gown to a stranger.
Table XXX.	Education: sending son or daughter to school.
Table XXXI.	Education: sending son to Koranic Malam or to school.
Table XXXII.	Desired Occupation: for self.
Table XXXIII.	Desired Occupation: choice of four occupations.
Table XXXIV.	Desired Occupation: aspirations for son.
Table XXXV.	Marriage: willingness to marry out.
Table XXXVI.	Marriage: willingness to marry an educated woman.
Table XXXVII.	Marriage: willingness to allow wife to work.

124 The entire sample of 44 individuals has a mean age of 39.55 (see Table XV), and a range from 22 to 60 years. The mean ages

[BEIDAN]

Table XV.

124 Age distribution of the sample and of each of the eight groups

		Mean age	Range
NA Malams		32.67	25-44
Talaka		36.5	22-51
Low-status Individuals		37.75	25-47
Aristocracy		39.4	24-56
Entire sample	median = 40	39.55	22-60
Craftsmen		40.0	30-57
Koranic Malams		43.67	30-56
Canteen Operators		43.67	40-47
Kabuna		45.67	35-60

for each of the eight groups which are compared in this chapter are also given in Table XV. The means of six of the eight groups are within four years of the mean age of the entire sample. The two extreme groups, the NA Malams (mean age = 32.67) and the kabuna (mean age = 45.67) are in one case somewhat younger and in the other case somewhat older than the entire group. [121] This age difference might be expected to have some effect on the hypotheses advanced earlier, since one might expect younger individuals to be more acculturated than older [632] individuals. Unfortunately, the NA Malams as a group tend to be young, so that the head-master of the school is only twenty-five years old. Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief Scribe, is forty-four years old and has been included in the sample. He is 124 probably the oldest NA Malam in the town. Conversely, the Ka- *634 buna tend to be an older group, and the thirty-five and thirty-

124 seven year old Kabuna are probably among the youngest members
*634 of the entire group. This is because Yerima Mustapha will keep
potential Kabuna in minor positions for some years before he
feels that they are ready for the responsibility of performing
[121] a Kabuna's role and gives them a horse. Although age is prob-
ably a variable in determining an individual's degree of ac-
culturation, it is secondary to his position within a given
group or category as will be demonstrated in the succeeding
*634 pages of this section. Though the Kabuna are older as a
*177 group, they nevertheless tend to be acculturated in specific
areas. Though the NA Malams are younger as a group, they tend
to be acculturated in certain areas and not in others. Age as
a variable will be examined in detail in a later section.

A. Analysis of Responses to the Thirty Acculturation Measures.

*177 The first acculturation measure to be discussed is knowl-
191 edge of languages other than Kanuri, presented as Table XVI.
Twenty-seven members of the sample speak some Hausa; 18 speak
Hausa well; 9 speak a little Hausa. Sixteen speakers of Hausa
*[565] are found in three groups: Aristocracy (4), Canteen Operators
*[463] (6), NA Malams (6). This is clearly related to the importance
of the Hausa language in two spheres of activity: trade and
*177 administration. All of the traders speak some Hausa; this is
191 because Hausa is widespread as the trade language throughout
441 Northern Nigeria. Europeans in trade learn to speak Hausa rather

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 253]

[GEIDAM]

Table XVI

1. Knowledge of other Languages aside from Kanuri

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#463
#565
#554

	Hausa:			English:			
	yes	little	no	yes	little	no	Other
Aristocracy	4	-	1	-	1	4	Little Shuwa - 1 Kanembu - 1
Koranic Malams	1	-	2	-	-	3	Arabic - 1
Canteen Operators	3	3	-	-	-	6	Little Shuwa - 1
NA Malams	6	-	-	6	-	-	Shuwa - 2; little Shuwa - 1; Fulani - 1; little Fulani-1; Mandara - 1
Kabuna	-	3	3	-	-	6	Little Fulani - 1
Craftsmen	1	-	5	-	-	6	Fulani - 1
Talaka	3	3	2	-	-	8	Fulani - 1 Tubo - 1
Low-status individuals	-	-	4	-	-	4	Little Shuwa - 1
Totals:	18	9	17	6	1	37	Shuwa - 6 Fulani - 5 Arabic - 1 Kanembu - 1 Mandara - 1 Tubo - 1 15

*177 than Kanuri, and communication with the managers of the various
191 trading companies in Geidam is in Hausa. Knowledge of Hausa
441 among the Kanuri canteen operators is reflected in their
[582] attitudes towards the Hausa generally. This can be seen in the
willingness of the Canteen Operators to marry Hausa women (see
*177 Table XXXV). Hausa is also the language of the colonial
648 bureaucracy in Northern Nigeria, and all Europeans in
191
*565 administration have learned to speak Hausa. The number of Kanuri
*634 speakers among the European administrative personnel in Bornu
Province is negligible. Therefore most of the Aristocracy
*177 and all of the NA Malams speak Hausa. In the remaining five
*565 groups, 11 individuals speak Hausa and 16 do not. Most of
191 the lower class groups do not have much contact with Hausas
and consequently do not speak their language.

*177 With respect to knowledge of English, the picture is even
191 more clear-cut. Only seven people in the sample speak English.
*[565] One aristocrat (Yerima Mustapha) speaks a little English, and
*[634] the entire group of NA Malams, all having been educated in
European-style schools, speak English. No one else has any knowledge of the language.

It is interesting to note that knowledge of other languages is a common occurrence in this area. Fifteen cases of speakers of six additional languages are found in this small sample. Of course a few individuals speak several languages, while others speak only Kanuri. There are six speakers of Shuwa Arabic, and five speakers of Fulani represented. There are almost as many

*177 speakers of these languages as of English. It has been noted
191 that both Shuwa and Fulani pastoralists are found in consider-
[563] able numbers in Bornu Province. The members of the group of
*[634] NA Malams seem to be outstanding in their knowledge of other
languages. Not only do they all speak Hausa and English, but three in addition speak Shuwa Arabic, two speak Fulani, and one speaks Mandara.

*177 Turning to reading ability (Table XVII), it can be seen
212 that 15 of the sample (34 per cent) are able to read in English
script, while 24 of the sample (54.5 per cent) are capable of reading in Arabic script. Writing the Kanuri language in Arabic script preceded the entry of the British into the area by several centuries; the British introduced writing in Latin (English) script and have taught this form of writing in the schools. It is clear that many more individuals are capable of writing in Arabic script today than in English script. It is also apparent that almost half of the sample are illiterate in any script.

*[565] Of those who can write well in English script, 10 of the
*[634] 11 fall into two groups: the Aristocracy and the NA Malams.
Most of the individuals in the six other groups are unable to write in English script. The pattern of those who are capable
*[634] of writing in Arabic script is quite different. Once again the
NA Malams are an outstanding group. Not only can they all write
[792] in English script, but all can also write in Arabic script. Of
course the Koranic Malams can also all write in Arabic script.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 256]

Table XVII

2. Ability to Read in either English or in Arabic script

*477
212
*565
*554
*463

	English script			Arabic script		
	yes	little	no	yes	little	no
Aristocracy	4	1	-	1	3	1
Koranic Malams	1	-	2	3	-	-
Canteen operators	-	-	6	2	1	3
NA Malams	6	-	-	5	1	-
Kabuna	-	2	4	1	1	4
Craftsmen	-	-	6	-	1	5
Talaka	-	1	7	1	3	4
Low-status Individuals	-	-	4	-	1	3
Totals:	11	4	29	13	11	20

[GEIDAM]

*177 But in every one of the eight groups there is at least one
212 individual who can write a little in Arabic script. Most of
*[463] the Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Low-status Individuals can neither
*[554] write in Arabic script nor in English script. However, several
*[565] of the Talaka can write a little at least in Arabic script.
*177 The two types of script divide the two educational systems
871 which operate side by side among the Kanuri. English script
212 is taught in the schools; Arabic script is taught by the Malams.
*565 Those who have had some extended contact with the Western
*634 schools (the NA Malams and the Aristocracy) can write in English
script. Those who have studied with a Malam can write
in Arabic script. Individuals who fall in this latter category
are found in all of the eight groups, and several are
among the Talaka. It is noteworthy that the NA Malams, who
all write in English script, can also write in Arabic script.

*177 Table XVIII presents data on the possession of Western
405 material goods. The first column compares those who own, or
*565 have owned a wrist watch. All six NA Malams and 4 of the Aristocrats
*634 owned a wrist watch at the time that they were asked.
Though a number of individuals in the lower class groups, particularly
in the Talaka group, have at one time owned a wrist
watch, none owns one at present. This of course reflects the
wealth differences among the groups. An individual Talaka may
own a wrist watch for a short time, until he finds that he
needs cash and sells it to some one else. Members of the NA
Malam group and the Aristocracy are sufficiently wealthy to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 258]

#477
405
493
207
215
492
#565
#554
#463

Table XVIII

3. **Possession of Western Material Goods.** Do you have the following items: wrist watch, bicycle, radio, photographs of yourself, horse?

	Wrist Watch			Bicycle			Radio			Photographs		Horse		
	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	no	yes	had	no
Aristocracy	4	1	-	2	1	2[*a]	3	-	2	5	-	4	1	-
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	3	-	3	-
Canteen Operators	2	1	3	3	-	3	3	-	3	5[*b]	1	5[*c]	1	-
NA Malams	6	-	-	5	-	1	6	-	-	6	-	4[*d]	-	2
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	6	6	-	-
Craftsmen	-	2	4	-	2	4	-	-	6	2	4	1	4	1
Talaka	-	4	4	1	1	6	-	-	8	1	7	-	3	5
Low-status Individuals	-	1	3	-	1	3	-	-	4	-	4	1	2	1
Totals:	13	11	20	11	5	28	12	-	32	19	25	21	14	9

[*a] one of the aristocrats doesn't own a bicycle, but owns two automobiles.

[*b] four of the five traders have had passport photographs taken of themselves.

[*c] one trader does not really own a horse, but one is available to him.

[*d] two of the NA Malams own horses which are being used by people in other towns; they do not use them.

[GEIDAN]

*177
405
*565 own and keep a wrist watch. They also differ from the group
*634 of Canteen Operators who could easily afford a wrist watch,
[441] though only two in the group own watches. Essentially the
*177 same pattern is repeated in the next column (ownership of a
493
*565 bicycle), but as a bicycle is much more expensive than a wrist
*634 watch, many fewer people own or have owned a bicycle. Those
441 who own a bicycle are to be found in three groups: Aristocracy,
Canteen Operators, and NA Malams, except for one Talaka
[792] who also owns a bicycle. In two of the groups none of the individuals have ever owned a bicycle: the Koranic Malams and the Kabuna. In the case of the Kabuna, whose work is so closely tied to their possession of a horse, it is clear why they have never owned bicycles.

*177
207 Radios are expensive items, though not as expensive as
191 bicycles. On the other hand their usefulness is much more limited.
*[565] Possession is limited entirely to the three groups who
[441] predominated in the previous columns: the Aristocrats, the
*[634] Canteen Operators and the NA Malams, and of the three groups the NA Malams outdistance the others since all members of the group own a radio. Another factor must be mentioned at this point. The Nigerian Broadcasting Company broadcasts in the Kanuri language for only one hour each week. However, broadcasting in Hausa is very frequent, and of course English language broadcasts can be found constantly on various bands of the short-wave radio. For one who speaks only Kanuri, therefore, a radio is of only moderate usefulness. In the three

[GEIDAM]

*177 radio-owning groups knowledge of the Hausa language is almost
207 unanimous. In addition, all of the NA Malams speak English
191 *[634] (see Table XVI) as well, so that they can most benefit from
possession of a radio, and in fact the entire group owns radios.

*177 Many individuals own photographs of themselves, but once
215 again the three groups who owned wrist watches, bicycles and
441 radios also tend to have photographs of themselves. In the case
[788] of the Canteen Operators an extraneous factor enters. Five of
the six Canteen Operators have made the pilgrimage to Mecca,
and in the course of making the trip, have had passport photographs
[792] taken of themselves. Three groups, the Koranic Malams,
*[634] the Kabuna, and the Low-status Individuals have never had photographs
*[554] *[565] taken of them, and among the Talaka only one of the eight
has had his photograph taken.

*177 The last column in Table XVIII notes possession, or previous
492 ownership of a horse. A horse is of course not an item of
[125] Western origin. It is included here to provide a comparison
with some of the Western items previously discussed, particularly
the bicycle. In only four groups are there to be found
*[565] individuals who have never owned a horse. Five of the Talaka
have never owned a horse, and in fact none of the eight Talaka
*[634] owns a horse at present. Two of the NA Malams have never owned
horses and it is clear that for members of this group the expense
of buying and keeping a horse is not the primary factor
as it is for most of the lower class groups. Two other NA Malams
own horses which they do not keep in Geidam as they have little
use for them. In comparison, five of the six NA Malams own bicycles.

[GEIDAM]

*177 Table XVIII lists the possession of various items, which
128 have been introduced from the Industrial West, by the eight
groups. However, the purchase of these items is severely limited
in some of the groups by their relative poverty. A more
reasonable measure would be knowledge about these items rather
than mere possession, since while all groups are not equally
able to obtain the various items, knowledge about their use
*177 is not restricted in this manner. It can be seen in Table XIX
493 that although the groups that own bicycles (Aristocracy, Canteen
*565 Operators and NA Malams) naturally also know how to ride them,
[941] many other individuals throughout the sample (more than one-half,
*[634] in all) also possess this knowledge. In fact, four of
the eight Talaka know how to ride a bicycle, although only two
*177 have ever owned a bicycle. An even larger percentage of the
805 sample (66 per cent) can tell time, and this knowledge is spread
*[565] throughout all the groups in the sample. There are only two
*[634] groups, however, where all individuals are able to tell time.
These are the Aristocracy, and the NA Malams.

*177 Knowledge of how to tell time is of itself a rather mechanical
805 thing. Individuals who can tell time can read the
*829 hours and minutes on the face of a watch or clock. To grasp
the usefulness of this knowledge is something else again. The
members of the sample were therefore asked to tell what they
considered the usefulness of a wrist watch to be. Their replies,
which appear in Table XX, were grouped into four categories,
and presented in columns A, B, C, and D. Occasionally

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

[GEIDAM]

Table XIX

*177
493
805
*565
*554
*463

4,5. Knowledge about Western Material Items.

	4. Can you ride a bicycle?		5. Can you tell time?	
	yes	no	yes	no
Aristocracy	4*a	1	5	-
Koranic Malams	1	2	1	2
Canteen Operators	4*b	2	4	2
NA Malams	5	1	6	-
Kabuna	2	4	3	3
Craftsmen	2	4	4	2
Talaka	4	4	5	3
Low-status Individuals	1	3	2	2
Totals:	23	21	30	14

[576]

*a one of the aristocracy (Yerima) stated that he doesn't ride a bicycle though he knows how to, because it isn't dignified.

*b one of the canteen traders stated that though he knows how to ride a bicycle, he doesn't ride, but travels on horse.

Table XX

*177
*505
*565
*554
*463
*829

6. Ideas about the usefulness of Western material Items:

What is the use of a wrist watch?

	A. doesn't know its use*a	B. know when to pray*b	C. important for one's work*c	D. complex ideas about usefulness*
Aristocracy	-	5	1	4
Koranic Malams	1	1	1	-
Canteen Operators	1	5	2	-
NA Malams	-	6	5	1
Kabuna	2	5	-	1
Craftsmen	3	3	-	1
Talaka	2	7	3	3
Low-status Individuals	1	3	1	1
Totals:	10	35	13	11

*a Answers indicating lack of knowledge:

Koranic Malam: "I don't know. It has no use."

Canteen Operator: "I don't know. A man knows when to stop work. It has no other use."

Kabuna: "You know what to do at different times of the day. You know the time- its pleasant. At 9 o'clock you eat."

Craftsman: "A man knows the time. I don't know what use that is. If you tell me, then I'll know its use."
"You know the prayer times; it has no other use. Talaka don't know its use. I'll know only if you tell it to me."

Talaka: "I don't know. If I get one I'll learn its use."

[GEIDAM]

Table XX (continued)

*177 *805 *565 *463 *829

*b Knowing when to pray:

Canteen Operator: "You know the prayer times. That's its only use for a Moslem."

"You know when to pray; you know the hours. It has no other uses."

NA Malam: "You know when to pray when its cloudy. When you wake up at night, you know the time."

Kabuna: "You know the prayer times; when to eat; and when to go to sleep."

Talaka: "If you go to the bush, at Duar (2 P.M.) you know it's time to pray.... At night, when there is no sun, you know when to pray."

In addition to stating that one knows the prayer times from one's wrist watch, individuals added the following:

You know when to rise in the early morning to count prayer beads - 3

You know when to wake up to break the fast during the month of Ramadan - 4

You know when to eat - 6

You know when to go to sleep - 2

*c A wrist watch is important for one's work:

Aristocrat: "When you go to work, you know when to stop in order to pray. You start work at a certain time and stop at a certain time..."

Koranic Malam: "If a man does European work, he knows when to go and when to leave for lunch."

Canteen Operator: "You know when to open your canteen, and when to close it. You know when to pray."

NA Malams: "A worker won't come late to work. You know the prayer times."

"You know the prayer times. You know when to stop work to eat; when to close for the day...."

"...If someone is brought into the Dispensary with a stab wound, for example, you write down the time he was brought in."

Table XX (continued)

*177
805
*565
*554
*463
*829

Talaka: "You know when to pray. You know when to stop work, go to eat, and be back at work, without being late...."

"You know when to pray. When you go to sleep, you know the time when you awake. At 3 A.M. you wake up if you want to go to bush markets."

Low-status Individual: "People who work for the government know when to go to work. You know when to pray."

*d More complex ideas about the usefulness of a wrist watch:

Aristocracy: "...If you leave for another town, you know when to leave, and when to return."

"...If you're going on a trip, you know what time you ought to start, because you know how fast you travel in an hour, and how many miles you have to go, so you can figure out what time you should start in order to reach there on time."

"You know the prayer times. You know when to leave for a journey and what time you will reach your destination...."

"You can tell someone when you are going someplace and when you will return."

NA Malam: "You can tell a man to come to see you at a certain time - 4 o'clock - and you know when to expect him."

Kabuna: "...A person may tell you to meet him at a certain time to start on a trip, and you know when to go."

Craftsman: "If a friend tells you to go someplace at 9 o'clock, you lie down and then, when it's 9 o'clock, you get up and go there."

Talaka: "...If you go someplace, you know how long it took to travel there...."

"...If you go to another town, you know when you started out and what time you arrived there."

"You know the prayer times. You know when to leave on a trip."

Low-status Individual: "You know the prayer times. A person can tell you what time he came to a particular place."

[BEIDAN]

*177 one individual offered several reasons as to why a wrist watch
805 was useful, and his answers may have fallen into several categories.
*829 The total number of responses in Table XX is therefore
greater than the number of individuals in the sample.

Column A includes responses which indicate that the individual
has no knowledge as to the usefulness of a wrist watch.
[126] In superscript*a following the table itself, a number of verbatim
responses are presented to indicate the nature and some
of the variety in this category of responses. These include
definite statements that a wrist watch has no use, and vague
statements that it's nice to know the times of the day. Several
individuals indicated that they understood that there was some
use to a wrist watch, and that if the anthropologist would impart
this knowledge to them they would then know. Implicit in
the statements by the two Craftsmen is that though they realize
that a wrist watch has some use, they have not been sufficiently
interested to find out its use from someone who knows. The last
statement by a Talaka is interesting in that it inverts the relationship
between owning a thing and knowing about its usefulness.
The order of events which he presents is not likely to
occur; he would hardly get a wrist watch before knowing what
*[634] its use was. Of the ten responses in column A indicating a
*[463] lack of knowledge of the usefulness of a wrist watch, seven occur
*[565] in three groups: Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. This response
did not occur at all in two categories: Aristocracy and
NA Malams.

*177 *829 805 788 Column B represents the most common response to this question. Thirty-five individuals said that a watch was useful because one then knew when to pray. Ritual prayer takes place five times each day, at set times of the day (see Chapter II). These are usually determined by the position of the sun in the sky; the benefit of a watch in helping one to know when to pray is therefore obvious. Some individuals added that a watch was particularly helpful in knowing when to pray when it is cloudy; others noted that in the bush, when no one else was about, it was helpful to have a watch to know when to pray. In connection with prayer, three individuals noted that by having a watch one knew when to arise in the early morning before the sun was up in order to count one's prayer beads (tajimi). Similarly, four people noted that you knew when to wake before the sun was up to eat something in the month of Ramadan. Since prayer times regulate the divisions of the day, six people added that by having a watch one knew when to eat (in relation to prayer), and two said that one knew when to go to sleep (a non sequitur). Several people specifically noted that knowing the times for ritual prayer was the only use of a watch. All the individuals in two groups put forth this reason, among others, for having a watch. These groups are: Aristocracy and NA Malams. Seven of the eight Talaka offered this reason. On the other hand, only one of the three Koranic Malams offered this as an example of the usefulness of a watch. Apparently the other Koranic Malams do not feel that a watch is of any assistance in

*[565] *[634] [792]

[GEIDAM]

*177 805 *829 788 helping one to know when to pray. The traditional ways of knowing the times for prayer are adequate for them.

[792] *177 805 *829 128 The four types of response to the question concerning the usefulness of a wrist watch can be ranked as to thoroughness of understanding of its usefulness, as well as degree of acculturation. Column A indicates no knowledge and represents the least acculturated responses. Column B reveals slightly more understanding, and a greater degree of acculturation. The responses in column C all link the usefulness of knowing the time to work of a European nature. This is a somewhat more acculturated response, and it also reveals a good deal about attitudes towards European types of employment and towards the bureaucracy. All of these responses indicate in some way that the individual knows when to arrive at work, when to leave for lunch and when to return from lunch, and finally when to leave

*[634] work for the day. It is understandable that five of the NA Malams, who all work for the provincial government, should have

[792] offered this as one of the uses of a watch. It is interesting

*[554] that two others who do not work for any governmental body, one a Koranic Malam and the other a Low-status drummer, should have noted the close relation between the need to measure units of time and European or government employment. These two both responded (*c) that for one who does European work or works for the government, a watch is useful, implying at the same time that for most Kanuri (most true Kanuri?) it has no real use. The most bureaucratized answer was offered by the local

[GEIDAM]

*177 Dispenser--if someone is brought into the Dispensary with a stab
805 wound, you write down the time he was brought in. This answer
*829 indicates that the respondent sees the use of a wrist watch sole-
128 ly in terms of its use in helping one to perform various bureaucratic tasks. Responses of this sort do not reveal a deeper understanding of the uses of a watch, though they do reveal an understanding of the relation between watches and aspects of Western culture and are therefore acculturated responses.

Complex ideas about the usefulness of telling the time have been noted in column D. In all there were eleven such responses, only one more than the responses in column A. Seven of these responses concern travel, and the advantages of being able to calculate rates of travel in order to determine when to leave a particular place and when to arrive at one's destination. The remaining four concern the use of synchronized time by two individuals to coordinate their activities. These responses reveal a deeper understanding of the advantages of
*[565] possessing a watch. Four of the five Aristocrats offered re-
*[634] sponses of this sort, as did three of the eight Talaka; only
[441] one NA Malam answered in this fashion, and none of the Canteen Operators offered this reason.

*177 In comparing the eight groups with respect to the answers
*829 presented in Table XX, several points emerge. The Aristocracy
*805
*565 offer a number of complex responses (D). The Koranic Malams
*554 are divided, but low in the number of responses referring to
*463 prayer time (B) when compared to the sample in general. The
*634

*177 Canteen Operators tend to offer prayer times (B) as their typical
*829 805 response. The NA Malams offer reasons connected with their
*565 work (C) more often than do other groups. The Kabuna offer
*554 prayer times (B) largely. A higher proportion of the Craftsman
*463 *634 group state that they do not know (A) than does any other group.
The Talaka and the Low-status Individuals offer a variety of
responses of which the most common by far is knowing of prayer
*177 times (B). Rating the four categories of response as to degree
*829 805 of acculturation by assigning a value of 1 to responses in column
*565 A, a value to 2 to responses in column B, a value of 3 to
*554 *463 responses in column C, and a value of 4 to the responses in
*634 column D, one can arrive at a score for the average responses
128 in each of the eight groups, and can thus compare their degree
of acculturation with respect to this particular measure. The
average ranks for the groups fall in the following order, beginning
with the least acculturated:

1. Craftsmen - average response value = 1.86
2. Koranic Malams - = 2.0
3. Kabuna - = 2.0
4. Canteen Operators - = 2.13
5. Low-status Individuals - = 2.33
6. Talaka - = 2.47
7. NA Malams - = 2.58
8. Aristocracy - = 2.9

*177 *829 The Craftsmen, with their high proportion of "don't know" (A)
805 responses thus are revealed as the least acculturated group in
*463
*565

*177 *829 this respect, and the Aristocracy, with their high proportion 805 *463 of complex answers (D) are the most acculturated. The Canteen *565 Operators are in the lower middle of the eight groups.

128 Just as mere possession of a wrist watch and knowledge of how to tell time were not as revealing as a question about the usefulness of a watch, so, too, possession of a bicycle and knowledge of how to ride a bicycle are less revealing than the *177 attitudes that people hold toward the bicycle. In this case 825 *829 the individuals in the sample were asked to compare a bicycle 492 with a horse as to the relative usefulness of the two, and were 493 then asked which of the two they would rather own. [125] A good bicycle and a good horse cost approximately the same price in Geidam, and are in a sense comparable. The results of this question appear in Table XXI. Most people thought the horse more useful (28), some chose the bicycle (9), and a number stated that the two served different functions (7). Among the reasons offered in favor of a horse were the following: the horse can travel in the bush and can go from one town to another; the horse is the more useful in traveling to other markets; the horse requires no repairs, is useful for racing and ceremonial activity; possession of a horse is more prestigeful. One craftsman stressed these latter qualities of a horse, saying, "If you ride a horse, everyone turns and looks at you. You're a big man." The reasons given in support of a bicycle include: a bicycle is more useful in the town; it's faster; it requires no care and little trouble; in particular it doesn't have to be fed

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 272]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXI

#977
825
#829
492
493
#565
#463
#554

7, 8. Comparison of horse and bicycle: which is more useful; which would you rather have.

	Which is more useful?			Rather have	
	horse	bicycle	different	horse	bicycle
Aristocracy	3	1	1	2	3
Koranic Malams	1	2	-	2	1
Canteen Operators	3	2	1	3	3
NA Malams	3	1	2	3	3
Kabuna	5	-	1	5	1
Craftsmen	6	-	-	6	-
Talaka	4	2	2	5	3
Low-status Individuals	3	1	-	3	1
Totals:	28	9	7	29	15

[GEIDAM]

*177 constantly. Frequently the respective merits of each were mentioned.
825
*829 A Talaka states, "A horse doesn't go fast, while a bicycle
492 goes fast. The horse has more prestige (dareja)." Another
493 Talaka says, "In town you can go far, deliver messages
and return very rapidly with a bicycle. But for strolling
through the town a horse is better. You wear a large gown
(kulugu) and big pants--it's pleasant (kəli)."

*177 The prestige of the horse is reflected in several of the
825
*829 answers to the question: do you know how to ride a bicycle?
492 Two individuals specifically indicated that although they knew
493
*554 how to ride, they did not ride a bicycle as it was not dignified
(see Table XIX). Turning to the question of which one would
*[634] rather have, a horse or a bicycle, two groups (Kabuna and Craftsmen)
*[563] reveal themselves as particularly conservative and overwhelmingly
choose the horse. It has already been noted that
the horse is of particular importance to the Kabuna. Their
*[565] reasons for selecting the horse are apparent. On the other
hand, the Aristocracy are also closely tied to ceremonial activities
involving the horse, yet they are the only group in
which more choose the bicycle (3) than the horse (2). It would
appear that the Aristocracy are in no doubt about the prestige
due them, and lean more strongly towards some of the other factors
which favor the bicycle.

*177 Several other measures concerning the adoption of Western
276 items were attempted. Among them were smoking cigarettes and
273
[784] drinking beer. Drinking alcoholic beverages, including Euro-

[GEIDAM]

*177 276 273 [789] European-style beer, is forbidden to strict Moslems. Smoking cigarettes is not forbidden by religious edict, but is generally
avoided except by adolescents and young men. In place of cigarettes, and serving much the same function, all Kanuri chew
kola nuts. It can be seen from Table XXII that only eight individuals smoke cigarettes; two others smoked in the past but
have given it up. Only three individuals admit to drinking
beer, while three others did drink in the past. Those who smoke
or drink can be found dispersed throughout six of the groups,
with no significant clustering of cases appearing in any one
group. In two groups, however, no individuals are to be found
[792] who either smoke or drink. These are the Koranic Malams and
[441] the Canteen Operators. The reasons for the strictness of the
Koranic Malams is obvious. The Canteen Operators are somewhat
different in their motivation. They would appear to adhere
closely to traditional norms in these areas.

*177 291 *829 The last items involving Western material goods concern
the wearing of European-made shoes and European-style trousers,
presented in Table XXIII. Most of the individuals in the
sample have worn European-made shoes at one time or another,
and a number of others state that although they do not have
them they would wear them if they had shoes. Only seven individuals categorically state that they would not wear European-
[792] made shoes, and these appear in four groups: Koranic Malams,
*[634] Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. The general attitude against
*[463] *[565] wearing European-style trousers, however, is much stronger.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 276]

[GEIDAM]

*177
276
273
*565
*463
*554

Table XXII

9, 10. Smoking cigarettes; drinking beer.

	9. Do you smoke cigarettes?			10. Do you drink beer?		
	yes	used to	no	yes	used to	no
Aristocracy	2	-	3	1	-	4
Koranic Malams	-	-	3	-	-	3
Canteen Operators	-	-	6	-	-	6
NA Malams	1	1	4	-	1	5
Kabuna	-	-	6	1	-	5
Craftsmen	-	1	5	-	1	5
Talaka	3	-	5	1	1	6
Low-status Individuals	2	-	2	-	-	4
Totals:	8	2	34	3	3	38

Table XXIII

*177
291
*829
*565
*554
*463

14, 15. Wearing European Items of Clothing: shoes, trousers.

	European shoes:			European trousers:		
	has them	doesn't have but would wear	wouldn't wear	has them	would wear	wouldn't wear
Aristocracy	4	1	-	2	1	2[*a]
Koranic Malams	1	1	1	-	-	3[*b]
Canteen Operators	5	1	-	-	-	6
NA Malams	6	-	-	4[*c]	-	2
Kabuna	2	2	2	-	3	3
Craftsmen	3	1	2	1	-	5
Talaka	5	1	2	3	1	4
Low-status individuals	4	-	-	1	1	2
Totals:	30	7	7	11	6	27

[*a] Malam Jalo said that he wore European trousers long ago when he was a school-teacher but that he wouldn't wear them now.

[*b] Liman Habib, the young Liman, said that he wouldn't wear them because they don't go with a Kanuri gown (kulugu).

[*c] Malam Kasam, the veterinary, stated that he occasionally wears them but doesn't like them; prefers Kanuri trousers (yangai).

Malam Ali Malami, the dispenser, wears European trousers as his work pants.

[BEIDAN]

#177 Those who object to the trousers make up 61 per cent of the
291 sample, while those who objected to wearing shoes are only 16
#829 per cent of the sample. A majority of the NA Malams state that
#634 #569 they wear European-style trousers, but several of their re-
#463 sponses indicate that wearing trousers is related to the nature
441 of their work, and one, the Veterinary, states that he wears them though he dislikes them. One Aristocrat notes that he wore trousers in the past when he worked as a school-teacher but does not wear them now that he no longer does that sort of work. The Craftsmen, the Koranic Malams, and the Canteen Operators give a very high proportion of responses indicating refusal to wear trousers. The first two of these, the Craftsmen and the Koranic Malams, also included individuals who were unwilling to wear shoes, so that their responses to the two questions are rather consistent. However, the Canteen Operators show a complete reversal. All of them said that they either had or would wear European-made shoes, but not a single member of that group would wear European-style trousers. There is clearly a difference in the attitude of the sample towards wearing European-made shoes and European-style trousers. The majority have no objection to wearing shoes but do object to wearing trousers; the group which is most sensitive to the difference between the two items of clothing is the Canteen Operators. They choose with the majority with respect to both shoes and trousers, but in both cases they do so to a man, as if to indicate that they as a group exemplify the norms of correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

[GEIDAM]

000 correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

785 183 178 [369] Turning from the area of Western material goods, several questions were concerned with religious behavior. Inroads affecting religious practices can be seen among some very acculturated Kanuri in Maiduguri. In Geidam, however, there is not sufficient anonymity to permit any serious deviations from religious practices. Thus when asked whether he fasted during the month of Ramadan, every individual in the sample said that he did fast. Another question concerned fasting during a second religious holiday, that of Tsuro Mbulo, when fasting is not mandatory as at Ramadan. Individuals may fast on Tsuro Mbulo if they wish to, for one, two, or three days. It can be seen from Table XXIV that 34 individuals state that they do fast on Tsuro Mbulo, while only 10 do not fast then. Since this is an optional fast day, there are no sanctions against those who do not fast. Nevertheless, there is some shame attached to not fasting. Some who did not fast stated frankly that they were too lazy, or that fasting was difficult. Others stated that they intended to fast in the future; still others claimed that they were too young to fast (though their ages may have been in the late thirties). The ten individuals who do not fast are distributed over a number of groups. In only three groups were [792] there no individuals who ignored the fast of Tsuro Mbulo. These [441] are the Koranic Malams, whom one would expect to adhere closely [554] to strict norms in the area of religious behavior, the Canteen Operators and the Low-status Individuals.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXIV

12. Religious Behavior: fasting during Tsure Mbolo.

		Yes	1 day	2 days	3 days	more	No	too young
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183	Aristocracy	3	-	3	-	-	2[*a]	-
*565 *554	Koranic Malams	3	1	1	-	1-10 days	-	-
*463	Canteen Operators	6[*b]	2	3	-	-	-	-
	NA Malams	5	2	3	-	-	1	(lazy)
	Kabuna	5	-	2	3	-	1	1-age 37
	Craftsmen	4	-	1	3	-	2	1-age 37
	Talaka	4	-	4	-	-	4	2-age 24; age 25
	Low-status Individuals	4	-	1	3	-	-	-
	Totals:	34	5	18	9	1	10	4

[*a] Yerima Mustapha answered that it was too difficult.

[*b] one of the canteen operators said that he fasted for one or two days.

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789 301 [531] Another area of religious behavior concerns the wearing of charms (laya). These are, typically, verses of the Koran, bound in decorated leather cases, strung on a thong, and worn on one's neck. They are written by a Malam, and are obtained for specific purposes: to protect the wearer against a variety of catastrophic events of natural origin (lightning, snake-bite, drowning), against injury from humans (knife wounds, gun shot), against gossip and evil eye, and to insure success and popularity. Some individuals wear great clusters of twenty or more different laya about their necks; others wear only one or two. It can be seen in Table XXV that all but two people in the sample own one or more laya. Though most people in the sample wear one or more laya constantly (columns 1 and 2), a number of individuals wear laya only in times of emergency--when they are [484] in dangerous surroundings. Dangers arise whenever one leaves one's own village or town, and they are greatest when one is traveling. Fourteen individuals state that they only wear laya 789 301 441 when they are traveling. The only group showing any differences in Table XXV are the Canteen Operators. Most of them wear laya only when traveling. It is difficult to discern the significance of this aspect of their behavior but taken together with their strictness in other areas of religious behavior (fasting, drinking beer) it would seen to indcate that they place less reliance on the protection afforded by wearing Koranic charms 441 78 than do other groups. They nevertheless strictly observe the standards of religious behavior in areas which can be seen by

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[BEIDAN]

Table XXV

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13. Religious Behavior: wearing charms (laya).

	wears many	wears a few	wears only when traveling	has them at home	has none
Aristocracy	1	1	2	1	-
Koranic Malams	1	2	-	-	-
Canteen Operators	-	2	4	-	-
NA Malams	4	1	1	-	-
Kabuna	3	-	3	-	-
Craftsmen	2	3	1	-	-
Talaka	2	1	2	2	1*
Low-status Individuals	1	1	1	-	1**
Totals:	14	11	14	3	2

* has never had any

** doesn't like laya; drinks Koranic ink (alo).

[GEIDAM]

491 others--by taking the pilgrimage (and being addressed as Al-
78 haji henceforth), fasting, etc.

*177 Still another area which was used as a measure of accul-
75 turation concerns treatment of disease and attitudes towards
*829 Western medicine. This area is closely linked to that of re-
ligious attitudes and behavior. There are two types of tradi-
tional Kanuri medical specialists. One is a secular specialist
who deals with a restricted number of physical ailments: mus-
[792] cular pains, swellings, broken bones. The other is the Koranic
Malam who writes out verses of the Koran on a wooden board.
Particular verses are used to treat specific diseases--the
verse is chosen to fit the ailment. The ink is then washed off
the board and drunk as a cure by the ailing person. This cure
is called alo. Between these two medical specialists the Kanuri
have a great many cures for a wide variety of diseases. When
asked whether they would go to a European doctor for treatment
(Table XXVI), most people replied that they would go. Only
[792] seven individuals stated that they would not do so. Two of
*[554] these are Koranic Malams, whose own roles in this area conflict
directly with the Western medical practitioner; three are mem-
[123] bers of the Low-status group. The direct effect of the presence
of the anthropologist as an agent of Western culture who cannot
avoid distributing aspirins and other pills is seen in the re-
sponse of an elderly kabuna who stated that he would go for
treatment because the anthropologist had come to Geidam, but
would not otherwise have gone.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 293]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXVI

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Western Medicine: 16. Would you go to a European Doctor?
17. Which is more effective, Western medicine or drinking the ink in which verses of the Koran were written (alo)?

	Europ. Dr.: yes	no	Western medicine	Koran	different purposes	W.medicine cures more rapidly
Aristocracy	5	-	3	1	1	2
Koranic Malams	1	2	-	2	1	-
Canteen Operators	6	-	3[*a]	1[*b]	2	2
NA Malams	6	-	3[*c]	-	3	1
Kabuna	5[*d]	1	3	-	3	-
Craftsmen	6	-	3	2[*e]	1[*f]	1
Talaka	7[*g]	1	3	[illegible]	3	2
Low-status Individuals	1	3	-	[illegible]	-	-
Totals:	37	7	18	12	14	8

[*a] one canteen operator said that long ago alo was the more useful, but that now doctors were here and Western medicine is more useful.

[*b] another trader said, "Alo is our cure. This is the era of Western medicine, but alo is more useful."

[*c] one NA Malam (of agriculture) said flatly, "Alo is no medicine; only Western medicine is real medicine."

[*d] a kabuna said that he would go for medicine since the author had come to Geidam, but had never gone before and would otherwise not have gone.

[*e] a young leather-worker said, "Alo is more useful for Moslems."

[*f] an older leather-worker refused to answer; said that he did not know.

[*g] an elderly talaka said that he had twice gone to the local dispensary, but that he would not go to a White doctor.

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#177 When directly confronted by the question of which is the
75 more effective, drinking alo or Western medicine, 18 (41 per
#829 cent) said Western medicine, 12 (27 per cent) said alo, 14 (32 per cent) said that they each served a different purpose. Of those who chose Western medicine, eight individuals specifically stated that Western medicine is the more effective because it cures more rapidly. One Canteen Operator noted the changing times, saying that alo had been effective in the past but that Western medicine is more useful today; an NA Malam stated that alo was not medicine. Several of those who chose alo as the more effective added that, "Alo is our cure," and "Alo is more useful for Moslems." The latter responses indicate an adherence to that which is Kanuri for its own sake, as a means to retain cultural identity. Those who indicated that they would not go to a European doctor in answering the previous question were consistent in maintaining that alo is a more effective
[792] cure than Western medicine. The Koranic Malams and the Low-
*[554] status Individuals refused to acknowledge the effectiveness of
*[634] Western medicine. The NA Malams and the Kabuna, on the other hand, either chose Western medicine or claimed that the two have different purposes.

The area of treatment of various diseases is followed up in the next question dealing with six specific types of disease or injury (Table XXVII). The six types of illness or injury were chosen because the author had previously ascertained that for three of these the Kanuri considered that they had effective

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 285]

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Table XXVII

18. Western Medicine: relative effectiveness of Kanuri specialists and Western doctors in treating six diseases.

	1. Bone-setting			2. Jaundice			3. Snake bite			4. Head ache			5. Small pox			6. Internal pains		
	Kan	Eu	both	Kan	Eu	both	Kan	Eu	both	Kan	Eu	both	Kan	Eu	both	Kan	Eu	both
Aristocracy	5	-	-	5	-	-	5	-	-	-	5	-	5	-	-	1	4	-
Koranic Malams	3	-	-	2	-	1	3	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	2[b]	3	--	-
Canteen Operators	6	-	-	4	1	1	6	-	-	-	6	-	2	4	-	3	3	-
NA Malams	6	-	-	4	2	-	4	2	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	1	5	-
Kabuna	3	3	-	3	2	1	3	2	1	1	4	1	-	6	-	2	4	-
Craftsmen[c]	4	1	-	3	1	1	5	-	-	1	4	-	-	4	1	2	3	-
Talaka	8	-	-	5	3	-	8	-	-	1	7	-	-	8	-	3	5	-
Low-status Individuals	2	1	1	-	3	1	4	-	-	-	4	-	-	3	1	1	3	-
Totals:	37	5	1	26	12	5	38	4	1	5	36	2	8	31	4	16	27	-

[a] the category of "both" includes responses indicating that both cultures have equally good cures, that neither has a good cure, or that the individual has indicated that he has no idea as to whose cure is more effective.

[b] The youngest Koranic malam stated that beforehand European medicine (vaccination) was more effective, but after contracting the disease, Kanuri medicine was more effective.

[c] an older leather-worker stated that he did not know the answers for the entire question. After being urged to answer, he said "European" to all six diseases. His answers have been omitted from the above table; the category of craftsmen has only five respondents.

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*177 means of treatment while for three others Kanuri treatment was
75 not particularly successful when compared with Western types
*829 of treatment. The Kanuri feel that their traditional means of treating broken bones, bites by poisonous snakes, and jaundice (called "yellow-eye") are effective, and this is reflected in their answers in columns 1, 2 and 3 of Table XXVII. 86 per cent stated that the Kanuri specialist was more effective in setting bones; 60 per cent said that he was more effective in treating jaundice; 89 per cent said he was more effective with snake-bite wounds. With respect to headaches, to smallpox (baru), and to a general complaint of internal pains (tuno), Kanuri treatment is not as effective. As can be seen in columns 4, 5, and 6, belief in the effectiveness of Kanuri treatment for these ailments is low; 12 per cent state that the Kanuri cure for headaches is the more effective; 19 per cent state that they believe the Kanuri cure for smallpox to be more effective; 37 per cent state that the Kanuri cure for tuno is the more effective. The expectation that for the first three ailments the Kanuri respondents would claim that Kanuri cures are more effective while for the latter three ailments they would indicate a greater reliance in the effectiveness of Western medicine was upheld.

[792] Several groups stand out. The Koranic Malams, for example, do not offer a single response indicating that European treatment is more effective than Kanuri treatment, for any of the
*[634] six ailments. The Kabuna and the NA Malams tend to respond in

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favor of European treatment in larger proportions than do any of the other groups--though their responses favoring European treatment are not as extreme as the responses of the Koranic Malams in consistently avoiding European treatment.

Looking now at each of the diseases in turn (the columns), and concentrating our attention on the deviant responses, 3 of the 5 who preferred European treatment for broken bones (column 1) are in the Kabuna group; the four individuals who chose European treatment for snake bite fall into two groups--the NA Malams and the Kabuna. Thus these two groups reveal a tendency towards preferring European treatment for diseases where the great majority have selected Kanuri treatment as the more effective. With respect to headaches (column 4), only 5 indicate a preference for Kanuri treatment, and 2 of these are in the Koranic Malam group which has already been noted as conservative in this area. But it is in the treatment of smallpox (column 5) that the most interesting finding emerges. Only 8 individuals thought that Kanuri treatment for smallpox was more effective than European treatment, and 5 of the 8 are to be found in the Aristocracy. Only 19 per cent of the sample thought that the Kanuri cure for smallpox was more effective, yet the Aristocracy unanimously thought so. Is the Aristocracy as a group conservative in their approach to treatment of disease? It would not appear so from their responses to the treatment of the five other ailments about which they were questioned. True --they unanimously chose Kanuri treatment for the first three

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*177 ailments, but most other individuals chose as did the Aristocracy.
75 With respect to treatment of headache (column 4) and internal
*829 pains (column 5) the Aristocracy selected European treatment
*565 as preferable, again going with the majority of the sample. It is only in the attitudes towards the treatment of smallpox that they differ strikingly from the rest of the sample. Their unanimous deviation from the majority must therefore be related to the particular disease--smallpox, rather than to general attitudes of the Aristocracy towards European treatment of diseases.

*177 Smallpox differs from the other five ailments listed in
75 Table XXVII in one significant way. It is the only disease
*829 the treatment for which is dispensed by governmental authority.
*565 Vaccination campaigns against smallpox are under the authority
744 of the Regional and Provincial governments. This is one of the areas in which super-ordinate authority operates, and Lowans and Ajias alike are under its control. Ultimately, the medical officers in charge of vaccination are European doctors, though the vaccinators themselves may be Kanuri. When there is an outbreak of smallpox, teams of vaccinators are sent in and their authority supercedes that of the local officials--the Lowan and the Ajia, who are forced to cooperate with the vaccinators whatever their own feelings. In the light of this knowledge, the unanimous response of the Aristocracy in preferring Kanuri treatment to European treatment is perfectly clear. Their objection to super-ordinate authority takes the form of denying

*177 the usefulness of the activities in which the agents of this
75 authority engage. Taken at face value, the response of the
*829 Aristocracy in column 5 seems to make little sense. Its mean-
*565 744 ing becomes apparent when the role of this group within the
social structure is understood in relation to the behavioral
area being investigated.

691 Arbitration of disputes between individuals has been dis-
627 cussed in some detail in the sections dealing with political
*177 organization. The traditional Kanuri way of dealing with inter-
648 personal disputes is for the complainant to bring his dispute
before an authority figure for arbitration. For the bulk of
the populace this means that disputes are brought before the
Lowan or the Ajia. The Alkali is also a part of traditional
Kanuri society but his authority now derives from external
sources. British colonial government has set up the judiciary
as an arm of government, and the Kanuri Alkali is part of this
larger system. The decisions of the Alkali given in court are
backed up by this external source of power. The judgments of
the Lowan or the Ajia when he hears cases in sholo receive
their support solely from the power vested in positions within
Kanuri society. Willingness to take disputes to court, there-
fore, represents a tendency to seek for sanctions outside of
*177 traditional Kanuri society. The data on this question are pre-
691 627 sented in Table XXVIII. Responses in column 1 state simply
*829 that the individual would bring his complaint before the Ajia
(or Lowan). The attitude of the Talaka whose response is re-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 291]

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Table XXVIII

19. Arbitration of disputes: before Lowan (or Ajia) or in court.

	1. Ajia	2. 1st Ajia then to Court	3. varies with circumstances	4. Court	5. Neither
Aristocracy	1	1	2[*a]	1	
Koranic Malams			1[*b]	1	1[*c]
Canteen Operators		2	1	3[*d]	
NA Malams		3	1	2[*ef]	
Kabuna		5[*g]		1[*h]	
Craftsmen	1	5[*i]			
Talaka	2[*j]	2	1	3[*k]	
Low-status Individuals	1	2			1
Totals:	5	20	6	11	2

[*a] Lowan Kagu, the former Lowan states, "If you go to the Ajia, everybody talks it over and cools down. At court they punish the wrong doer. If you are right, you go to court. If you are not right, you go to the Ajia."

[*b] Koranic Malam: "No one ever did anything to me. If it is a light matter I would go straight to the court. If it is a weighty matter I would go first to the Ajia."

Others in this column stated that they would take a weighty matter to court and a light matter to the Ajia.

[*c] One malam stated that he would go to neither the Ajia or to court. "I would pray for Allah to take care of it." When asked what he would do if a man stole his goat he said that he would go first to the Ajia. If nothing happened he would sit still and would not go to court.

[*d] Several of the canteen operators give the following reasons for going to court: 1) "Court is more honest." 2) "The court is the proper judge for Moslems to go to." 3) "Long ago I would have gone to the Ajia. Now only to court. If you go to the Ajia, it's a drawn out affair."

Table XXVIII (continued)

*177 *e An NA Malan said, "Court. Court knows right and wrong; knows
691 who is speaking the truth or not. Going to the Lowan only
627 works if your complainant agrees."

*829 *f Another said, "First to court. If you go to Sholo, the person
*565 giving sholo takes money and doesn't punish the person who
has committed a wrong. The court is just and punishes."

*554 *g A typical kabuna response was, "Go to the Ajia. He sends
*463 you to court. He is our superior."

*h An atypical kabuna: "Court. Both parties are forced to speak the truth."

*i A young leather worker: "Everyone has his Mai (king). The Lowan helps you; he fixes it. Ajia does the same. In court all are the same before the law. It doesn't help you; only when you are right. I would go to the Wakil of the Ajia with a complaint."

*j A talaka: "Go to the Lowan. The Lowan is my superior. A man who goes to court is stupid. If you go over your Lowan's head, it's no good. He collects your taxes."

*k Another talaka: "Only court. Only the court can enforce anything. If the other party doesn't agree, the Lowan is no use."

[SEIDAM]

*177 corded in *j is typical. Taking a dispute to court means
691 short-cutting the traditional means of settling disputes and
627 is likely to be interpreted by the Lowan as an attempt to go
*829 over his head. This would be a foolish thing to do, since the Lowan is one's immediate superior ("He collects your taxes."). Responses in column 2 indicate that one should go first to Ajia, and that the dispute should be taken to court only if the Ajia advises it. The Kabuna's response (*g) states that this should be the procedure because the Ajia is one's superior. The leather-worker (*i) phrases it so that everyone has his superior to whom he must first go with his complaints; these are then smoothed over. The responses in columns 1 and 2 represent traditional responses; 25 individuals (57 per cent) answered in this way.

Some individuals indicated that their course of action would depend on the circumstances. Thus one of the Aristocrats (*a) indicates a perfect understanding of the differences between taking a dispute to the Ajia for sholo and taking it before the Alkali in court. The purpose of sholo is to placate both sides; the court enforces its decisions by punishing the wrong-doer. Therefore, if you are in the right, you can witness the punishment of the individual who has wronged you by taking him to court. If you are not in the right, you are better off before the Ajia, whose aim is to settle the dispute. Several others (*b, *c) indicate that they would do little or nothing in assuming an active role in order to bring those

[BEIDAM]

*177 against whom they have a complaint before either authority.

627 691 *829 Those who would take their disputes directly to court (column 4) offer a variety of reasons for so doing, but the basis of their reasoning is that: the court can determine the truth (and frequently people are required to swear on the Koran in court); the court can enforce its decisions; and sholo requires both parties to accept and be bound by the decision of the *177 arbitrator (see #e and #k) while the court does not. The 11 627 individuals whose answers fall in column 4 represent members 691 *829 of 6 groups, but the highest proportion of respondents giving 441 this answer is to be found among the Canteen Operators. Three of this group said "court"; only two said "Ajia first and then court." Furthermore, their reasons for taking a dispute to court are not as convincing as those of other individuals who would also take their disputes to court. In #d are to be found the responses of the three Canteen Operators who would take their disputes directly to court. Neither the first nor the second answer are reasonable explanations. Bribery is possible in cases brought for sholo and equally possible in cases brought before an Alkali; it is no more proper for a Moslem to go to court than it is for him to bring his dispute for arbitration. The third answer is more convincing, though it says only a portion [178] of what might be said. It seems clear that the Canteen Operators as a group would be more likely to take cases before the Alkali rather than before the Lowan or Ajia because of their own changing status in the social structure. Because they are

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*177 627 691 *829 441 178 a rising group, increasingly becoming more wealthy, more powerful, and more prestigeful, they tend to rely less on traditional Kanuri authority figures for resolution of conflict, and rely instead on externally derived authority. This is because they are unsure of their own position in relation to that of the Lowan or Ajia, and equally unsure as to how he sees their relationship. This uncertainty makes them unwilling to place themselves in a vulnerable position with respect to Lowan or Ajia by bringing their complaints to him.

735 577 431 [554] The Kanuri place a very high value on charity and generosity. One who possesses worldly goods in abundance should share what he has with others who have little. The individual who occupies a high position in Kanuri society has access to wealth and to power (through which he can also achieve wealth). He is expected to distribute large amounts in charity in order to validate his high position. Every individual in the sample, when asked if he would give away a gown to someone who asked for one, replied that he would give (see Table XXIX). Not a single individual stated that he would refuse to give if asked. Furthermore, 36 individuals (82 per cent) answered with an unqualified "yes." Eight others said that they would give the gown but placed a variety of conditions on giving. The various qualifications placed on giving are presented in the right-hand column of Table XXIX. They range from statements that the other man must be brought by poverty, that you give to someone who is close to you but not to a stranger, to extreme statements

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 295]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXIX

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20. Charity and generosity: If you were rich, would you give a new kulugu (gown) to a man who asked you for one?

	Unqualified yes	Qualifications	
Aristocracy	4	1	would give to one man who asked; not to many.
Koranic Malams	2*a	1	doesn't know. If Allah gives, he would give. If Allah forbade, he wouldn't give.
Canteen Operators	3	3	1: "To someone close to you, like your family, who doesn't have anything--you give. If you know him you give; if not you don't give." 2: "A man would farm for me and I would give him a kulugu. I wouldn't give just like that." 3: "A man who has nothing, a Malam, an old man with no strength--you give."
NA Malams	5	1	"If the man already had one, I would not give him one."
Kabuns	6	-	
Craftsmen	6	-	
Talaka	6	2	1: "If you know him, you give. If he already has one, you don't." 2: If I have many kulugus, I'd give. If the other man is brought to me by want, I'd give."
Low-status Individuals	4	-	
Totals:	36	8	

*a The youngest malam said that he would give, but his explanation for giving was that, "If you give to him, perhaps you may need it later and he will give to you."

[BEIDAN]

431 577 735 that you give only to someone who will work for you.

431 735 441 178 565 Of the 8 who placed conditions on giving, 3 are in the group of Canteen Operators. Once again, the unusual nature of this group within the social structure explains their tendency to place conditions on generosity and charity. They are probably wealthier as a group than the NA Malams, but not wealthier than the Aristocracy. One cannot attribute their hesitancy in giving to the fact that as a wealthy group they are frequently called upon to perform acts of charity. The NA Malams and the Aristocracy are also called upon, yet they place fewer conditions on outright giving. Yerima Mustapha, the wealthiest man in the sample by far, merely replied that he would give the gown. The explanation lies once again in the rapid rise of the Canteen Operators as a group in the recent years, and the uncertainty of their place in the social structure. Others are not certain what place the Canteen Operators really occupy, and still less sure about how the Canteen Operator sees himself in the social structure. Because of this the Canteen Operator is much more likely to be approached with requests for charity than would [illegible] a member of the Aristocracy. The position of the Aristocrat, the Lowan for example, is clearly defined as is the place of each individual in relation to him. Only those who have reason to believe that their requests will be honored will come to the Aristocrat with requests for charity. The Aristocrat and the beggar both know when the request is a reasonable one and when it is not, and few are likely to

[GEIDAM]

735 178 441 565 431 bear the Aristocrat's wrath if they approach him with a ridiculous request for charity. The manner in which the Canteen Operator wishes to present himself is not as well known and his relation to others, a changing relationship as he grows more wealthy, is not as clearly defined. Many more people will approach him with requests, to test the limits of his generosity since these are not yet widely known. Should he be somewhat erratic in his manner of giving, this would encourage others to approach him and try their luck. In response to this tendency on the part of others, the group of Canteen Operators would be expected to place various conditions on giving gifts to others. They might be expected to be overly cautious in investigating the credentials of those who come to them for charity. [577] Furthermore, since generosity is an important Kanuri value, they might also be very sensitive to criticisms that they are misers (joku), thus their patterns of charitable giving might indeed be erratic, encouraging others to continue to test the limits of their generosity. It is, therefore, in terms of the status and role of the Canteen Operators that their behavior in this area can best be interpreted.

177 871 829 562 Another area in which behavior and attitudes involving acculturation can be tested is that of education. Traditional Kanuri education has been described above, and the efforts of the British in the area of education have also been related. Table XXX gives the responses of individuals in the sample to the question of whether they would send their son and their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 299]

Table XXX

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*554

21, 28. Education: Wauld send your son to school?
Would you send your daughter to school?

	Son:		Daughter:	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Aristocracy	5	-	5	-
Koranic Malams	-	3[*a]	-	3
Canteen Operators	5	1[*b]	4	2
NA Malams	6	-	5	1
Kabuna	6[*c]	-	5	1[*g]
Craftsmen	4	2	4	2
Talaka	5[*d]	3	3[*h]	5
Low-status Individuals	1	3[*e]	2	2
Totals:	32	12[*f]	28[*i]	16[*j]

Son:

[*a] Koranic Malam: "No. I want my son to become Liman after me."

[*b] Canteen Operator: "No. I will do according to our custom. I will do what my father and father's father did."

[*c] Kabuna: "I would send my son to school. I wish that I had been sent to school, but my father forbid it."

[*d] Talaka: "Yes. It's useful. But a girl won't stay in her husband's house if she goes to school."

[*e] One low-status individual has a son in school, but if the Lowan had said nothing he would not have sent him to school himself.

[*f] 8 of the 12 who answered "no" specifically stated that they would not send their son to school unless forced to do so by their Lowan.

[GEIDAM]

Table XXX (continued)

Daughter:

*177 *g One kabuna sent his daughter to school, but only because the
871 Ajia told him to send her. He would not otherwise have
*829 sent her to school.

562 *h Talaka: "I would send her. If you have no money you can't
*565 do anything for your daughter. If she goes to school, she
*463 later will earn a salary and will give you food when you're
*554 old."

*i Four respondents said: "School is more useful," or "School opens the mind."

*j 8 of the 15 who answered "no" specifically stated that they would not send their daughter to school unless forced to do so by the Lowan.

[GEIDAM]

*177 daughter to the Western school. Most (73 per cent) would send
871 their sons to school, and the reasons for doing so (#c, #d)
*829
562 stress the usefulness of Western schooling and the benefits to
be gained. 27 per cent said that they would not send their sons
to school, a number adding "unless forced to do so by the Low-
an" (see #f). Four groups would overwhelmingly send their sons
*[565] to school. These are: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, NA
[441] Malams, Kabuna. The remaining four are divided, although none
*[634] of the Koranic Malams and only one Low-status Individual would
[792]
*[554] send a son to the Western school.

Fewer would send a daughter to school, though once again
*[565] a majority (64 per cent) state that they would. The Aristoc-
*[634] racy, NA Malams and Kabuna would overwhelmingly send a daughter
to school (though one individual in each of the latter groups
has shifted from a "yes" for a son to a "no" for a daughter).
[792] The Koranic Malams remain adamant and would no sooner send a
daughter than they would a son. Whereas a majority of Talaka
would send a son to school, most would not send a daughter to
school. The reasons given for sending a daughter to school
appear in #h and #i. Of the 15 who answered "no", 8 added
"unless forced to do so by the Lowan" (see #j). One Talaka
noted (#d) that school was useful for a boy, but not for a girl
because marriage difficulties arise for educated women. This
issue will be discussed more fully in Table XXXVI which concerns
marriage with an educated woman.

*177 In following up the choice involved in educating one's son,
871
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[GEIDAM]

*177 *829 871 members of the sample were asked: would you send your son to a Koranic Malam or to the European school (Table XXXI)? Twenty-two (50 per cent) chose the European school; 14 (32 per cent) chose the Koranic Malam; 8 (18 per cent) chose some combination of the two. Among the reasons advanced for sending one's son to school are the following: he can learn to pray, learn Arabic, and read the Koran in school (*a- half of those who chose school specifically added this, indicating that they considered these things to be important but that they thought they could also be accomplished in the European school); students have to work in the school - *c (a questionable assumption); school opens the mind, one learns the ways of the world there; it is a way to earn money, many trades become possible through schooling (*d); if he goes to school, "Everything will come to him" (*e). The last response may be compared with that of a craftsman (*f) explaining why he would rather send his son to a Koranic Malam: "He would learn to pray, and learn to count prayer beads, and will get whatever he wants." Six people offered a compromise, stating that they would first send their son to a Koranic Malam, and after he had learned to pray they would then send him to the European school. One Aristocrat (*b) chose a different compromise solution, and a Low-status drummer offered a very individualistic answer (*h).

*[565] *[634] In answering this question, three groups (Aristocracy, NA Malams, and Kabuna) remained consistent with their answers to the two previous questions. They would all send their son to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 303]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXXI

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29. **Education:** would you send your son to a Koranic Malam or to the European school?

	European school	first to Malam then to school	Koranic Malam	Neither (or both)
Aristocracy	4[#a]	-	-	1[#b]
Koranic Malams	-	-	3	-
Canteen Operators	1[#c]	3	2	-
NA Malams	5[#d]	1	-	-
Kabuna	5[#e]	1	-	-
Craftsmen	3	-	3[#f]	-
Talaka	3	1	4[#g]	-
Low-status Individuals	1	-	2	1[#h]
Totals:	22	6	14	2

[#a] Aristocrat: "When I was young I was sent to a Malam, and then sent to school. I would send my son straight to school. He would learn prayer and everything there."

11 of the 22 who would send their son to school specifically added that he could learn the Koran, Arabic, and prayer in school.

[#b] Aristocrat: "Both. I would send one son to school, and one to the Malam."

[#c] Canteen Operator: "The Koran is better, but they don't really read there (at the Malam's). In school they have to read, so I would send him to school."

[#d] NA Malams: "School. He would learn everything there, Koran and Arabic. It would open his mind."

"To school. He would learn Arabic in school; he would learn the ways of the world."

"School. If he studies the Koran, he won't have any money, and he'll become a thief."

"School. He'll grow up and have many possible trades when he leaves school."

[BEIDAN]

Table XXXI (continued)

*177 *e Kabuna: "School. This is the era for European knowledge."
871 "School is better. When I grow old my children will earn a salary and support me if they go to school. A Malam of the Koran has nothing."
×829
*565 "School. European knowledge is more useful these days."
*554
*463 "School is very useful. Everything will come to him."

*f Craftsman: "Koranic Malam. He would learn to pray, and learn to count prayer beads, and will get whatever he wants."

*g Talaka: "Malam of the Koran. If a son reads the Koran, his father's sins will disappear."

*h Low-status Individual: "Neither. I want my son to be a drummer."

[BEIDAN]

* 177 871 829 *[565] *[634] *[554] school, or work out a compromise; none would send a son solely to the Malam. The Koranic Malams also remained consistent with their previous answers. None would send a son to any one but a Koranic Malam. The Low-status group would tend to send their sons to the Koranic Malam, as they indicated in their answers to the previous question. The remaining three groups (Canteen Operators, Craftsmen, and Talaka) are fairly evenly divided between the two choices. All three groups appear to have shifted somewhat from their answers in Table XXX, and lean more in the direction of the Koranic Malam than they indicated earlier. The Canteen Operators in particular appear to have shifted in the direction of a compromise solution, and three of the six individuals who answered in this way are to be found among the Canteen Operators.

* 829 *554 441 Another revealing area is that of the various occupations which individuals would like. Some are realistic aspirations, while others, particularly in the case of older people, border on fantasy. Eight categories have been distinguished in Table XXXII. Of these, the category of Trader (column 2) is the most popular by far. This is listed separately from "trading in the market-place" (column 3) because in the latter case individuals specifically indicated that they saw themselves as petty traders who operated in the market-place. The two categories might, however, be considered as one, since both are involved in the same general sort of activity--trade. Considered together, 42 per cent of the sample selected trade as the desired occupa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 307].

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Table XXXII

22. Desired Occupation: what sort of work would you most like to do?

	1. Ajia or Lowan	2. Trader	3. trade in market	4. Koranic Malam	5. NA work	6. retainer (walidi)	7. crafts-man	8. other	9. same as present	per-cent
Aristocracy	1	2[*a]	-	1[*b]	-	-	-	1[*c]	1	20
Koranic Malams	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	100
Canteen operators	-	6[*d]	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	100
NA Malams	1[*e]	1	-	-	3	-	-	1[*f]	3	50
Kabuna	1[*g]	1	-	-	-	3[*h]	-	1[*i]	3	50
Craftsmen[*j]	-	2	1[*k]	-	-	-	2	-	2	40
Talaka	-	3[*l]	1	-	1	-	1	2[*m]	3	38
Low-status Individuals	-	-	1	-	-	1[*n]	2[*o]	-	2	50
Totals:	3	15	3	4	4	4	5	5	23	

[*a] Aristocracy: "I would rather be a trader than an Ajia. I would trade in anything."

[*b] Aristocracy: Yerima Mastapha - "I would like to be a Malam of Arabic; but European knowledge is more useful today."

[*c] Aristocracy: "To be Yalema - the Wakil (assistant) of the Shehu, who goes about with Europeans, with District Officers."

[GEIDAM]

*177 *554 *829 *441 *634 *565 *463

[GEIDAM]

Table XXXII (continued)

*d Canteen Operators: "Do the work of a Talaka; farm during the rainy season, and sell goods."

3 of the canteen operators specifically mentioned farming during the rainy season in addition to trading.

*e NA Malam: "Ajia - the work of my father."

*f NA Malam: "Retire on a salary and live in a house in Maiduguri."

*g Kabuna: "Be a Lowan - the work of my grand-fathers, and my ancestors who were all from Birni Ngazargamo (capital of the empire of Bornu)."

*h Kabuna: "Be a retainer (walidi); do the Ajia's work."

"I'm old now. Whatever the Mai (king) tells me to do, or sends me, I will do, and earn a little money each month."

*i Kabuna: "Be a scribe, like Malam Ali Mandara (Chief Scribe of Geidam). The work of a kabuna in the bush is hard. It is better to sit in town and be the Wakil (assistant) in charge of tax collection."

*j Craftsman: one leather-worker refused to answer this question, and is not included in this table.

*k Craftsman: "I would buy and sell in the market. I don't like any other work; the market is in my blood."

*l Talaka: "I would be a seller of perfume (his present trade). First you start with a small table in the market, then you become a big trader with a canteen."

"If I had money I would buy cloth from the canteen, make clothes, and sell them at a profit. I would then buy millet for myself and more cloth."

*m Talaka: "Be like Musa Jakena (a clerk in the Ajia's office in charge of tax tallying) - make money and do nothing."

*177
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Table XXXII (continued)

"Farming is the best work."

*n Low-status Individual: "I wanted to be a Kabuna when I was young. Now I want to be a butcher (his present trade)."

*o Low-status Individual: "A drummer. There is nothing better than to be a drummer."

[BEIDAW]

[GEIDAM]

*554 *829 tion. This is the most common response for four of the eight
441 groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, Craftsmen, and Talaka.
*777 Except for the case of "NA work" (column 5), none of the cate-
178 gories can be rated as being more acculturated choices or less
441 *463 acculturated choices. All are traditional categories within
556 Kanuri society. The area of trade, however, though not a new
*554 innovation brought about by contact with the West, has undergone the most significant changes as a result of Western influences. It has previously been noted that the trading group has grown wealthy and powerful in recent years as a result of outside influences. The reasons given by several Talaka who chose trade (#k) indicate that it is this aspect of trade which they find most appealing. Trade offers people an opportunity to become wealthy and important and to rise in significance in the social structure. In this sense, the choice of "trader" as one's desired occupation represents an acculturated response.

*554 Considering each of the eight groups in turn, it is inter-
*829 esting that even two of the aristocracy succumb to the lure of trade. One Aristocrat (#a) states that he would rather be a trader than an Ajia. Others in the group give traditionally oriented responses, particularly #c who has selected a time-honored
[792] ambition (though it, too, has a very modern twist to it). The Koranic Malams would all like to be Koranic Malams, though few others selected this as their desired occupation (see Table
[441] XXXIII). The Canteen Operators all would like to be in no other occupation than trade. It is interesting that 3 of the 6 spe-

[GEIDAM]

*829 cifically mention farming in addition to trade (#d) as if to
*554 accentuate their Talaka origins and their tie to the soil as
[441] *[634] the ultimate provider of sustenance. Three of the NA Malams
prefer to do NA work, and one (#e) specifically states that he
would like to be an Ajia (see Table XXXIII). Three Kabuna indicate a preference for the work of retainer, while one would
*[463] like to be a Lowan (#g)--see Table XXXIII. Three Craftsmen
chose the general category of trade, while two preferred to
*[565] be craftsmen. Four Talaka chose trade, while the remaining
four chose a variety of occupations (#m). The Low-status individuals divide into several categories, though two prefer to remain in the same low-status crafts which they now perform.

128 *554 Column 9 lists the number of individuals in each group who
*829 chose as their desired occupation the same occupation in which
*463 they are presently engaged. This number is then expressed as the percentage of the total group. The groups may then be ranked to indicate the satisfaction of each group with its present occupation. They are ranked in the following order:

Koranic Malams - 100 per cent satisfied with their present occupation.
Canteen Operators - 100 per cent satisfied with their present occupation.
NA Malams - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.
Kabuna - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.
Low-status Individuals - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.
Craftsmen - 40 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.
Talaka - 38 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.
Aristocracy - 20 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

[GEIDAM]

*554 Five of the eight groups range very closely (from 38 to 50 per
*829 cent) and indicate neither very great satisfaction with their
*463 present work, nor great disapproval. The Low-status individuals
are included among them. They apparently do not find their
[792] low status a source of discontent. The Koranic Malams all
[441] seem very secure in their occupations, as do the Canteen Traders
*[565] who all seem to find their work rewarding. It is striking
to note that the Aristocracy are the most dissatisfied
group in the sample. A number of possible reasons can be advanced
to explain this (there are many hidden strains in
their roles; they are in a better position to fantasy than the
others, etc.), though none really seems to provide an adequate
explanation.

*177 The next table (Table XXXIII) deals with the same general
*829 area of desired occupations, but treats the problem differently.
*463
*554 Instead of asking the open-ended question "What sort of work
would you most like to do?", this question required the members
of the sample to select the occupation which they found most
appealing to them from among four which were offered. The four
choices included two acculturated occupations (truck driver and
doctor or dispenser), and two traditional Kanuri occupations
(Lowan and Koranic Malam). As indicated by the table, only five
individuals selected the acculturated occupations; the overwhelming
choice of the sample was for Koranic Malam (70 per cent).
This contrasts sharply with the choices made in Table XXXII,
where only 4 (9 per cent) chose Koranic Malam. Unfortunately,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 311]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXXIII

23. Choice of Occupation.

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Which would you rather be:

	lorry driver	Lowan	doctor or dispenser	Koranic Malam
Aristocracy	1[*a]	1	2[*b]	1[*c]
Koranic Malams	-	-	-	3
Canteen Operators	-	-	-	6
NA Malams	-	4[*d]	1	1
Kabuna	-	3	-	3
Craftsmen[*e]	1[*f]	-	-	4
Talaka	-	-	-	8
Low-status Individuals	-	-	-	4
Totals:	2	8	3	30

[*a] Aristocrat: "I don't really like any of them. Malam of Koran is no good; don't like Lowan; dispenser has to clean smelly wounds. Driver of a truck is pleasant; he collects lots of money."

[*b] Aristocrat: "Doctor is the most important today."

[*c] Aristocrat: "Malam of the Koran - if I had a little money."

[*d] NA Malams' reasons for wishing to be Lowans:

"Lowan - no problems. You're head of the town and tell people what to do."

"Lowan, because I grew up in the house of a Lowan."

"I'll tell you the truth - Lowan."

"My father's father was the Lowan of Damboa."

[*e] One craftsman refused to state a preference, and is not included in the table.

[*f] Craftsman: "I'd like to be the driver of a lorry - but I don't know how."

[GEIDAM]

*177 as "trader" was not offered as a choice in this question, it
*829 is impossible to ascertain whether Koranic Malam is the second
*463 best choice to trader, or whether, when reminded that Koranic
*554 Malam is a possible choice, people feel obliged to choose it.

[792] Considering each of the four occupations individually,
[441] four of the groups were unanimous in choosing Koranic Malam as
*[565] the desired occupation. These are: the Koranic Malams, Canteen Operators, Talaka, and Low-status Individuals. In the group of Craftsmen the choice of Koranic Malam is almost unanimous, but for one individual who chose truck driver. The category of truck driver is the least popular and was selected by only two people; one of these (#a) indicated that he chose it because it was the best of four unattractive choices. Three groups remain who did not overwhelmingly choose Koranic Malam.
*[565] These are: Aristocracy, NA Malams and Kabuna. The Aristocracy include two of the three individuals who selected doctor (#b); the others in the Aristocracy are divided among the remaining
*177 choices. The category of Lowan is the final occupation to be
*829 discussed and was selected as the preference of 8 individuals.
*463 *554 Seven of these 8 individuals are found in two groups: the NA
*634 Malams and the Kabuna. The eighth is an Aristocrat who is presently a Lowan. Three of the Kabuna would like to be Lowans (compare with Table XXXII where only one Kabuna selected Lowan). This desire is expectable in a group whose activities are entirely within the political structure and whose rewards would probably come through promotion to higher position within the

[GEIDAM]

*177 *829 *554 *463 *634 political hierarchy. It is a reasonable ambition for faithful Kabuna to hope to be appointed Lowans, and in the past Yerima has chosen Lowans from among his Kabuna. An even higher percentage of NA Malams chose the category of Lowan than did Kabuna. This is an interesting choice for the youngest and best educated group in the sample, all of whom speak English. It is a particularly traditional response for a group whose members are all engaged in occupations which derive entirely from Western culture. Their answers (od) are also revealing. One states, "I'll tell you the truth--Lowan," as if to indicate that he realizes that this is likely to be an unexpected answer on his part. Two others give ah important clue as to the reason for their response when they point to their kin ties to other Lowans in whose houses they were raised. Though the NA Malams are extremely acculturated in many respects, their own aspirations are largely traditional. Furthermore, their choices are realistic since it is very possible that they may be appointed Lowan from their present position as head-master of the primary school or dispenser. Their acculturation in certain behavioral areas may assist them, in fact, in attaining these goals--traditional goals which would be expected in an unacculturated individual.

*177 *463 *829 *554 Another aspect of this general area is explored in Table XXXIV, which is concerned with the aspirations which members of the sample have for their sons. A group of adult men, whose average age is forty, might be expected to have limited aspirations for themselves since many of them cannot realistically

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

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[GEIDAM]

Table XXXIV

30. Aspirations for son: What would you want your son to become?

	1. become teacher	2. an NA Malam: doctor	3. an NA Malam: other	4. Koranic Malam	5. trader	6. Craftsman	7. farmer	8. same as his father
Aristocracy	2	-	3[*a]	-	-	-	-	0
Koranic Malams	-	-	-	3[*b]	-	-	-	3
Canteen operators	-	-	-	1	5[*c]	-	-	5
NA Malams	-	2[*d]	3[*e]	-	1	-	-	4
Kabuna	1	1	2[*f]	1[*g]	-	-	1[*h]	0
Craftsmen[*i]	-	-	-	3[*j]	1	1	-	1
Talaka	1	2[*k]	1	3[*l]	-	-	1	0
Low-status Individuals	-	-	-	-	2[*m]	2[*n]	-	2
Totals:	4	5	9	11	9	3	2	15

NA work: 18

[a*] Aristocracy: Yerima Mastapha - "Clerk in a bank, or a canteen manager." When asked if he wanted his son to become Waziri of Bornu, he replied, "Waziri? I turned down the position of Waziri. Why should I want my son to become Waziri?"

"European Malam. An accountant; Senior Service. If I had money I would send my son to England."

"I would want him to read a lot, to become Senior Service and do any sort of work. Become a Black European (Nasara kam salimbe), buy an automobile."

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[BEIDAN]

Table XXXIV (continued)

*b Koranic Malam: "I want my son to do the same work as his father, and to become the Liman."

*c Canteen Operators: "If I have some money, my son will sell cows and trade like his father. If I have no money, he will farm."

Two other canteen operators said "trade and farm."

"He will do the work of his father. Go to school, learn, and come back to work with his father."

"Sell cloth; become a school-teacher or a veterinary."

*d NA Malam : "Doctor. European type of doctor."

*e NA Malam: "Work in an office, as a clerk; in the Waziri's office, or the Treasurer's Office in Maiduguri."

*f Kabuna: "Work in an office; become a big European Malam in Kaduna, Zaria or Lagos. Be the same as a European - a Black European (Nasara kam səlimbe)."

*g Kabuna: "Become an Alkali."

*h Kabuna: "Farm and keep cows. If that isn't possible, I would want him to become a school-teacher."

*i Craftsmen: one craftsman, a leather-worker, refused to answer this question, and is not included in this table.

*j Craftsmen: "Read the Koran and become a Gonyi. Many people will come to his house."
"Farm and read the Koran."

"Read the Koran and become a big Malam."

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*565

[GEIDAM]

Table XXXIV (continued)

*k Talaka: "Go to school and become a European Malam; like a doctor. If he doesn't go to school, sell kola nuts or be a fətkema (like his father)."

*l Talaka: "Work in a bank, if he went to school. Read Arabic, if he were not sent to school. If he doesn't know the Koran, the bank is good. But studying the Koran is better."

*m Low-status Individual (butcher): "I don't want him to become a butcher. A seller in the market is good. I'm a butbher; that's enough.

*n Low-status Individual (drummer): "I only want him to become a drummer."

[GEIDAM]

*177 *463 *829 #554 hope to radically change their occupations. In their aspirations for their sons, however, they might be expected to express hopes and desires more freely. Their responses have been grouped into 7 categories. The first three columns include all types of NA (or European) work, with special listings for teacher (column 1) and doctor (colunn 2). The responses in the first three columns account for 42 per cent of the total. This is interesting in comparison with the previous two questions. In Table XXXII, NA work (column 5) accounted for only 9 per cent of the responses, and in Table XXXIII truck driver and doctor together accounted for only 12 per cent of the responses. The high proportion of responses indicating a desire for sons to hold NA jobs and to do European work compared to the infrequency of this response with reference to themselves would indicate that while the members of the sample are incapable of seeing themselves in those positions, it is realistic and desired that their sons some day engage in such work. While only 21 per cent indicated a wish for their sons to be in trade (column 5), this was the preferred category in which they themselves would like to work (Table XXXII), selected by 42 per cent of the sample. Koranic Malam was chosen by 26 per cent of the sample as the desired life's work for their son, considerably less than the percentage of those who chose NA work. Lastly, 5 individuals chose crafts (column 6) or farming (column 7) as the occupation for their son and these represent 12 per cent of the sample.

[GEIDAM]

*177 *463 *829 *554 The aspirations of those who would like their sons to hold NA or European jobs become apparent as one looks at their verbatim responses (#a, #d, #e, #f, #k). They would like their sons to be bank clerks, accountants, doctors and Senior Service government employees, working in the large cities. Two fathers specifically add that they want their sons to become "black Europeans" (#a, #f), an ambivalent comment since it implies that their sons will have the advantages of a European and in the process will become estranged from their Kanuri fathers. Those who wish that their sons might become Koranic Malams (#b, #g, #j, #l) see the advantages in terms of the respect which they would gain in becoming a Liman, an Alkali, or a Gonyi--"Many people will come to his house" (#j). The advantages of success in trade have already been discussed (#c).

*[565] Taking each group in turn, the Aristocracy all wish their sons to do NA or European work, though a glance at column 8 indicates that none wishes his son to do precisely the same type of work as his father is presently engaged in. This once again would appear to indicate the same dissatisfaction noted [792] for the Aristocracy in Table XXXII. The Koranic Malams continue to demonstrate the same consistent behavior which they have shown all along. All wish their sons to become Koranic Malams [941] (#b), like their fathers. The Canteen Traders would also like their sons to engage in trade; 5 of the group chose trade for their sons and they make up the bulk of those who gave this *[634] response. The NA Malams follow the same pattern; 5 of the 6

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*177 *463 NA Malams would like their sons to do NA work like their fathers.
*829 Four of the Kabuna would like their sons to do NA work, and none
*554 want their sons to be Kabuna like their fathers (column 8). The
*[634] Craftsmen exhibit a preference for their sons to become Koranic
*[565] Malams. The Talaka are divided between NA work and becoming Koranic Malams, and none in this group wants his son to do what he himself is doing. In contrast, 2 of the 4 Low-status Individuals would like their sons to engage in the same occupation as that of their fathers, despite the low status which individuals in those occupations enjoy. The butcher (#m) does not wish his son to become a butcher. He says, "I'm a butcher; that's enough." But the drummer (#n) shows a love for his work which only another creative artist can truly appreciate, whatever his culture.

*177 The final behavioral area to be investigated is that of
582 marriage. Table XXXV is concerned with willingness to marry someone from another culture. Willingness to involve one's self with members of another culture would tend to foster close contacts with that culture. Resistance to such involvement would inhibit contact. Marriage, or willingness to marry out, may be used as a measure of interpersonal and intercultural contacts.

Column 1 records answers to the question: would you marry a non-Kanuri woman? Twenty-five individuals (56 per cent) said that they would be willing; nineteen (43 per cent) said that they
*[565] would not. Two groups show great tolerance in their attitude:
*[634]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 320]

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Table XXXV

24, 25. Willingness to marry out: willingness to marry a non-Kanuri; willingness to marry a Hausa, a Fulani, a Moslem Babur, a Moslem Yoruba.

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	1. Non-Kanuri		2. Hausa		3. Fulani		4. Babur		5. Yoruba	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Aristocracy	4	1	3	2	3	2	3	2	4	1
Koranic Malams	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1
Canteen Operators	3	3	4*	2	-	6	1	5	-	6
NA Malams	6	-	4	2	4	2	4	2	2	4
Kabuna	3	3	2	4	2	4	2	4	1	5
Craftsmen	2	4	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5
Talaka	3	5	3	5	1	7	4	4	2	6
Low-status Individuals	2	2	-	4	-	4	-	4	-	4
Totals	25	19	19	25	13	31	17	27	12	32

* a canteen operator stated that he would marry a Hausa woman, but only if she wore her hair in the Kanuri fashion.

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*177 the Aristocracy (80 per cent would) and the NA Malams (100 per
582 cent would). In contrast, among the Craftsmen only 33 per cent
*565
*634 would marry out and among the Talaka only 38 per cent would
*[463] marry out. The four remaining groups do not show clear-cut
preferences.

*177 The remainder of the table is concerned with the atti-
582 tudes of the sample towards marriage with women of four tribes.
186 Since it was anticipated that few, if any, individuals would indicate willingness to marry a white woman, or a non-Moslem, the choices which were offered were limited to tribes who are all present in the area and who are known to the people of the community of Geidam. The Fulani are all Moslem and the Hausa almost all Moslem; in the case of the Babur and the Yoruba who are partly Moslem, the question was specifically phrased: would you marry a Moslem Yoruba, or a Moslem Babur woman?

It may be seen from the table that willingness to marry women of the four tribes which were selected varies, though in no case do the members of the sample appear to be as willing to marry from the tribes offered them in the question as the answers to the previous question (column 1) would indicate. The most popular tribe was the Hausa, and 43 per cent said they would marry a Hausa woman. The next in order of popularity was the Babur tribe, a part-Moslem, part-pagan people living in Bornu Province and strongly acculturated to the Kanuri; 38 per cent indicated willingness to marry a Babur woman. Fewer people are willing to marry a Fulani woman; though the Fulani

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*177 582 186 are Moslems like the Kanuri, they are pastoralists who live in the bush and differ greatly from the urban Geidamites; 30 per cent would marry a Fulani woman. The least popular choice was the Yoruba woman, selected by only 27 per cent of the sample. Though the Yoruba who live in Northern Nigeria are all urban people, and the question referred specifically to Moslem Yoruba who are numerous, the Yoruba are generally identified as a southern tribe of very different background.

*[565] Considering each group in turn, the Aristocracy are noteworthy in their willingness to marry Yoruba women, whom they seem to prefer above the other three choices. This might be attributed to their wider orientation as a group. The Koranic Malams show no difference in their preferences among the four [441] tribes. The Canteen Operators are almost unanimous in rejecting three of the four tribes, yet a majority of them (67 per cent) would marry a Hausa woman. This curious and striking result can be explained quite simply by looking at the role of the Canteen Operators. Their normal activities in trade bring them into contact with Hausas and they all speak Hausa. Because of the frequency of their interaction with members of that culture they show a willingness to marry Hausa women. This does not extend to women of other tribes in the form of a general willingness to marry out, as can readily be seen by their *[634] responses in columns 3, 4, and 5. The NA Malams are willing to marry with women of three of the tribes, including the unpopular Fulani, but unlike the Aristocracy they are not willing to marry

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177 a Yoruba woman. The Kabuna are an intermediate group, and
582 show little variability in their preferences. The Craftsmen
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[65] are very consistent in their resistance to marriage with women
[464] of any of the tribes offered to them. The Talaka on the
[565] other hand show a wide variation in their attitudes towards
the four tribes. They are almost unanimous (88 per cent) in
their objection to marriage with a Fulani woman, but one half
[368] would marry a Babur woman. Presumably urban versus rural factors
and the degree of acculturation towards Kanuri culture
which the Babur have demonstrated would lead Talaka to favor
[554] the Babur and oppose the Fulani. The Low-status Individuals
are the only completely unanimous group in this respect. None
of them would marry women from any of the four tribes offered
to them.

177 Another aspect of marriage is willingness to marry an edu-
581 cated woman. Responses to the question: would you marry a
629 Kanuri woman who had gone to school and who spoke English, are presented in Table XXXVI. Most people (73 per cent) said that they would marry an educated woman. Reasons offered for marrying such a woman mention the usefulness of a knowledge of English and the money which a wife of that sort could earn. Two people note that they would marry such a wife only if she prayed regularly, implying that Western education is often accompanied by a decline in piety and the practice of religious ritual. In opposing marriage with such a woman, people state that an educated wife would be a better and more accomplished person than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 324]

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Table XXXVI

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26. Marrying an educated woman: would you marry a woman who had gone to school and who spoke English?

	Yes	No
Aristocracy	3	2
Koranic Malams	2	1
Canteen operators	6	-
NA Malams	4	2
Kabuna	4	2
Craftsmen	4	2
Talaka	6	2
Low-status Individuals	3	1
Totals:	32	12

Reasons given in support of marrying such a wife:

NA Malam: "Better than anything else. She can help me in writing."

Talaka: "A woman who speaks English can bring money."

Talaka: "I would learn English from my wife."

Qualifications:

Two said that they would marry such a wife, but only if she prays.

Reasons given in opposing such a marriage:

Aristocrat: "No. She would write letters to other people."

Kabuna: "She would be better than me. She would send letters elsewhere."

Talaka: "No. If you marry her she'll speak badly to you, curse you. My power is slight."

Low-status individual: "No. I'm afraid to."

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*177 581 *829 [441] her husband (the respondent) and this would subvert his authority within the family. This is expressed as a fear that through her superior knowledge she would be able to commit adultery, while her ignorant husband would be powerless to stop her. The groups hardly differ among themselves at all in their answers to this question, except that the Canteen Operators are the sole group which unanimously indicated a willingness to marry an educated woman.

*177 593 *829 A related question asks if a wife would be permitted to work as a school-teacher or a dispenser (Table XXXVII). The question implies, of course, that one is married to an educated woman, Approximately the same number of people responded that they would permit their wives to work (70 per cent) as had said that they would marry an educated woman (Table XXXVI). Several mentioned the wife's salary as an advantage in having a working wife (*f, *g); one brought up the issue of adultery again (*d) implying that an educated woman who worked would be less under her husband's control. Eleven individuals (25 per cent) said that they would refuse to allow their wives to go out and work. Some stated simply that they would not allow it (*e), while others claimed that she would not be as good a wife if she went to work (*c). Two others noted that they would allow their wife to work under certain circumstances and would forbid it under other circumstances (*a, *b).

*177 593 In discussing this matter, the idea of keeping one's wife secluded (kule) must be taken into account. Though only a rel-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 326]

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Table XXXVII

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27. Would you let your wife work as a school-teacher or dispenser?

	a.			b. (see Table IX) Are present wives secluded?	
	yes	no	depends on circumstances	yes	no
Aristocracy	3	1	1[*a]	4	1
Koranic Malams	1	1	1[*b]	2	1
Canteen Operators	1	5[*c]		6	-
NA Malams	4[*d]	2[*e]		6	-
Kabuna	5[*f]	1		1	4
Craftsmen	5	1		-	6
Talaka	8[*g]	-		1	6
Low-status Individuals	4[*h]	-		-	3
Totals:	31	11	2	20	21

[*a] Aristocracy: "If I had the money, I would keep my wife in the house. If I had no money, she could go to work."

[*b] Koranic Malam: "If she doesn't understand English, I would allow it. If she understands English, I would forbid it." (He had previously said that he would not marry a woman who had gone to school and spoke English.)

[*c] Canteen Operator: "Wouldn't permit it. If she goes to work, she won't cook food."

[*d] NA Malam: "It's alright with me, so long as she didn't commit adultery."

[*e] NA Malam: "I would forbid it, if I had the money."

[*f] Kabuna: "I would allow her. We would have two salaries."

[*g] Talaka: "I would allow it. She would bring home her salary, and I could eat."

[*h] Low-status Individual: "I would allow her. I would say, 'Go, I can't stop you. I'll drum my drum.'"

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Though only a rel-
*177 atively small part of Kanuri society keeps its wives secluded,
593 there is a strong tendency for upper class individuals to do
*565 so. It can be seen from column b (Table IX) that almost all
individuals in the 4 upper groups do keep their wives secluded,
while very few in the 4 lower groups do so. It might be
predicted that members of a group which had but recently risen
into the upper strata of Kanuri social structure would be especially
strict in keeping their wives secluded, thereby indicating
to all the manner in which they fulfilled the expectations
*177 of someone of high status. In examining the responses
593 of each of the groups to the question of allowing one's wife
*565
*829 to work, several groups appear particularly permissive. Not
*[554] one individual in either the Talaka group or the Low-status
group would object to his wife working. This is undoubtedly
because husbands in these groups do not keep as tight control
over their wives as do husbands who keep their wives secluded.
[441] Among the four groups who do keep their wives secluded, only
one has serious objection to allowing their wives to work, and
that is the group of Canteen Operators. The Canteen Operators
stand out in comparison to the other groups in this respect.
*[634] Most of the Aristocracy and the NA Malams would allow their
wives to work, even though they keep their present wives secluded.
*177 The Canteen Operators differ radically from the other
593 groups in their response to this question, and furthermore their
*829 attitude seems strikingly inconsistent with that expressed in
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*554 the previous question (Table XXXVI). There it was noted that
they were the only group who were unanimously in favor of marry-

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#177 593 #829 441 #554 ing an educated woman, whereas they are almost equally unanimous in not being willing to allow her to work. The explanation for this inconsistency is to be sought in the poor definition of their roles. It has been noted that they are a rising group, emerging as a wealthy and powerful segment of community social structure. They actively seek means to increase their prestige, and one way of doing this would be through marriage with an educated woman (particularly since many well educated young women come from aristocratic families). Still another way of increasing their prestige is to be strict about religious observance, and keeping wives secluded falls into this category of behavior. They therefore indicate that they would all be willing to marry an educated woman, but would not permit her to work as a school-teacher. What appears as an inconsistency in their behavior is explainable in terms of the nature of their roles in the social structure. In fact, it becomes possible to characterise the roles of this particular group in terms of the inconsistencies which they exhibit.

B. Age as a Variable in Acculturation.

128 #177 The introductory paragraphs to the present chapter presented the mean age of the sample of individuals on which the study is based, and compared the means of the ages of the eight groups in the sample.[1] Two of the groups were found to vary somewhat from the sample as a whole, and the effect of relative age was considered briefly in that context. We may now return

[1] [For the age distribution of the sample, see category 116, page 250. - Analyst]

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128 *177 to a consideration of age as a variable in acculturation. The acculturation measures have all been discussed so that it is now possible to examine them in relation to the ages of responding individuals.

121 *177 In terms of the theoretical orientation presented in Chapter IV, relative age of individuals would be expected to effect their degree of acculturation and the behavioral areas in which they exhibited acculturation in a general way. Age categories in any culture represent one of the universal forms of status differentiation, and age differences may be equated with status differences in Kanuri culture. Roles therefore also differ with age--younger individuals within a larger status category have different roles from older individuals within that same status category. Thus expectations and obligations of younger people differ from those of older people, and a younger person might be expected to seek to present a different "self" from an older person merely because of the difference in their ages. Much of the difference in role behavior between young and old people may be attributed to the time required to adequately learn complex roles, so that young people may be allowed much leeway in their behavior and this may be explained as due to their not yet having learned behavior appropriate to mature roles.

In the light of the differences in role between younger and older individuals postulated above, one might expect differences in acculturation. Since a basic assumption throughout has been that acculturation proceeds more rapidly in segments of

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121 #177 the acculturating society which interact with agents of contact in the course of the performance of their normal roles, it can be predicted that the freedom of behavior permitted to younger people would result in more exploratory behavior on their part and greater interaction with agents of Western culture. This increased contact in turn would result in a greater degree of acculturation in certain behavioral areas. However, an interesting question arises here. Does the acculturated behavior of younger people persist as they grow older, or does their increasing age require them to give up acculturated sorts of behavior in favor of traditional behavior which is more appropriate to older status? Some of the indices of acculturation noted in younger people may become sources of acculturation throughout the culture, while others may represent temporary phases in the life-cycle which drop out in later years.

128 #177 In order to examine the effect of age on acculturation, the individuals making up the sample were divided into two groups. The younger group is made up of individuals below the median age for the entire sample. There are 23 individuals in this group, and their ages range from 22 to 40. The older group is made up of individuals above the median age, and their ages range from 41 to 60. There are only 21 individuals in the older group (compared with 23 in the younger), because the frequency at the median did not permit an even split. These two groups were then compared as to degree of acculturation for the thirty acculturation measures which have already been described in order

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128 to determine in which behavioral areas the younger group proved
*177 to be the more acculturated.

*177 Table XXXVIII presents 15 items in which the younger group
561 was more acculturated than the older. The responses of members
128 of the older group may be compared with those of the younger
group by examining columns a and b. Table XXXIX lists 8 items
in which little or no difference was detected between the two
groups. Examining each of the items in Table XXXVIII, it is
*177 apparent that one half involve Western material goods. Item
561 1: more young men own watches and bicycles; more older men own
horses. Item 2: more young men can ride a bicycle and can tell
time. Item 3: both young and old say that a horse is more
useful than a bicycle, but of those who say "bicycle" there are
more young than old. Item 4: more young men would rather own
a bicycle than a horse, while the older group would rather own
a horse. This is a response which well might shift with age.
When this same group of young men grows older, might they not
then prefer to own a horse? Item 5: more young men smoke cigarettes and drink beer than do the older men. This type of behavior might also drop out with increasing age. Item 6: more
young men have European shoes; more old men state that they
would not wear them. Item 7: only members of the young group
have European-style trousers; most of the older group state that
they would refuse to wear them. It is clear that in the area
of behavior involving Western material goods, and attitudes towards these things, the younger group appears to be the more

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 334]

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Table XXXVIII

Comparison of old and young individuals with respect to acculturation measures.

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			a. old	b. young
1.	Western Material Goods: possession - (Table XVIII)	watch	7	17
		bicycle	3	13
		horse	20	15
2.	Western Material Goods: knowledge about items - (Table XIX)	bicycle	6	17
		time	12	18
3.	Western Material Goods: relative usefulness - (Table XXI)	bicycle	3	6
		horse	17	11
		different	1	6
4.	Western Material Goods: rather have- (Table XXI)	bicycle	3	12
		horse	18	11
5.	Western Material Goods: cigarettes and beer - (Table XXII)	do smoke	3	7
		do drink	1	5
6.	Western Material Goods: wearing European shoes - (Table XXIII)	has shoes	10	20
		would wear	5	2
		wouldn't wear	6	1
7.	Western Material Goods: wearing trousers - (Table XXIII)	has them	0	11
		would wear	4	2
		wouldn't wear	17	10
8.	Religious Behavior: wearing charms - (Table XXV)	wearing now	10	15
		rarely wears	11	8
9.	Western Medicine: would go to a doctor -	yes	16	21
	effectiveness of medicine- (Table XXVI)	European	7	11
		Koran	7	5
		different	7	7
10.	Western Medicine: number of diseases of the six for which European medicine is better (Table XXVII)-	median	2.1	3.1
11.	Western Medicine: treatment of small pox -	Kanuri	6	2
		European	12	19
		different	3	2

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Table XXXVIII (continued)

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		old	young
12. Aspirations for son: (Table XXXIV)-	European type	7	11
	Kanuri "	13	12
13. Marriage: marry a non-Kanuri- (Table XXXV)	yes	9	16
	no	12	7
median number chosen of the four choices-		.4	1.2
14. Marriage: marry an educated wife - (Table XXXVI)	yes	12	20
	no	9	3

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Table XXXIX

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Acculturation measures in which little or no difference was shown between the old and the young members in the sample.

1. Knowledge of other languages (Table XVI) - slight superiority of young in English, not in others.
2. Ability to read (Table XVII) - slight superiority of young in English script, not in Arabic script.
3. Religious behavior: fasting during the minor fast of Tsuro Mbulo (Table XXIV).
4. Charity and generosity: giving a gown to a stranger (Table XXIX).
5. Education: sending son to school (Table XXX).
6. Education: sending daughter to school (Table XXX).
7. Arbitration of Disputes: going for sholo or going to court (Table XXVIII).
8. Marriage: willingness to allow wife to work (Table XXXVII).

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acculturated.

The greater accultuaation of the younger group also emerges from their responses in the area of attitudes towards Western medicine (Items 9, 10, 11). Item 9: more young men would go to a European doctor; the young men believe that Western medicine is the more effective, while the old men are evenly divided between Western medicine and the Koran. Item 10: the members of the young group tend to prefer Western medicine for a greater number of diseases than do the members of the older group. Item 11: with respect to the treatment of smallpox, more members of the older group prefer Kanuri treatment than do members of the younger group. In this area the responses of the younger group are like their responses with respect to Western material goods.

In examining the remaining items in Table XXXVIII in which the young and the old group differ (Items 8, 12, 13, 14) it is revealing to turn to Table XXXIX to compare these items with similar items in which the two groups do not differ. The two groups do not show much difference in their knowledge of other languages (except that the younger group shows a slight advantage in their knowledge of English), or in their ability to write (except that again the younger group has an advantage in writing in English script). With respect to religious behavior, there is no difference between the groups among those who fast at Tsuro Mbulo (Item 3, Table XXXIX), but there is a difference between the groups in the wearing of charms (Item 8, Table

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XXXVIII). Both of these findings are of interest because several of those who did not fast at Tsuro Mbulo gave as their reason the explanation that they were young, implying that the young are not expected to keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo while the old are. On examining the ages of those who do fast on that occasion it becomes apparent that there is no difference in age--equal proportions of young and old observe the fast. With respect to the wearing of charms, it is found that a greater number of young men actually wear charms than do old men. In this case, the younger group exemplifies traditional religious norms more avidly than does the older group. The value of charity and generosity is upheld among the young to the same extent that it is upheld among the old (Item 4, Table XXXIX). The young do not appear more eager to send either son or daughter to the European school than do the old (Items 5 and 6, Table XXXIX). On the other hand, they favor European sorts of occupations in their aspirations for their sons (Item 12, Table XXXVIII), more so than does the older group. It would appear that members of the younger group are freer and wider ranging in the hopes which they express for their sons, but are not really prepared to implement these hopes by sending their sons to receive a Western education which would make some of their hopes possible. Perhaps this is once again a case of wider aspirations among the young men, which change and become more conservative with age. As they grow older, their aspirations may change and they may wish their sons to engage in traditional Kanuri activities rather than in Western activities.

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The final items that remain to be discussed are the arbitration of disputes (Item 7, Table XXXIX), in which the two groups do not appear to differ, and marriage. Attitudes towards marriage again reveal an interesting inconsistency in the younger group. It can be seen in Item 13 (Table XXXVIII) that most of the younger group are willing to marry a woman who is not Kanuri, while most of the older group would not; furthermore, they would marry a higher percentage of the four tribes mentioned than would the older group. The overwhelming majority of the younger group would also marry an educated woman (Item 14, Table XXXVIII); many more of the older men would refuse to marry an educated woman compared to the younger group. However, when it comes to allowing one's wife to work as a dispenser or a school-teacher the younger group is no more permissive than is the older group. The two groups do not differ with respect to this question (Item 8, Table XXXIX). It would appear that greater tolerance in accepting a woman as one's wife is a function of youth, but that this is not necessarily accompanied by greater permissiveness in the treatment of wives. The younger group would uphold traditional Kanuri norms as strictly as would the older group in the matter of allowing one's wife to work as a school-teacher.

It is evident that relative age is a factor influencing degree of acculturation in specific behavioral areas. The areas most affected are material culture, treatment of diseases, aspirations for children, and permissiveness in selecting a mar-

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riage partner. On the other hand, no differences were detected in areas involving important traditional Kanuri values: religious behavior, charity, arbitration of disputes, education of children, and willingness to permit a wife to work.

C. Degree of Acculturation of the Eight Groups and Categories.

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Having considered each of the acculturation measures in turn, and having discussed the relative acculturation of each group with respect to that measure, it is appropriate now to consider each of the eight groups and categories in turn, examining the behavioral areas in which that group demonstrated a high degree of acculturation when compared to the other groups as well as the behavioral areas in which that group proved to be less acculturated than the others.

The method adopted for the presentation of each group so that it might be compared with the other seven groups, was to take all the measures of acculturation used in the study, of which there were forty-three (that is, forty-three distinct questions), and to give the proportion of acculturated responses on all forty-three questions for each group in turn. However, in order to judge how each group compared with the total sample, it was necessary to compare the proportion of acculturated responses in each individual group with the proportion of acculturated responses in the entire sample for each question. Thus the proportion of acculturated responses in the entire sample was considered as a baseline, from which each of the eight

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groups deviated--some in the direction of greater acculturation (i.e., a higher proportion of acculturated responses), others in the direction of conservatism (i.e., a smaller proportion of acculturated responses).

These deviations have been presented in the form of graphs, one for each of the eight groups, so that one can readily see the "acculturation profile" of each group, as it were. The zero point on the graph represents the baseline, the proportion of acculturated responses for the entire sample for each question. A higher percentage of acculturated responses for a given group is indicated by a black bar extending to the right from the base line; a lower percentage of acculturated responses for a given group (compared to the entire sample) is indicated by a black bar extending to the left. For example: question 1 measures the percentage of individuals in each group who speak Hausa (Table XVI, above). We note that 18 individuals in the sample speak Hausa; 17 do not; 9 individuals state that they speak a little Hausa. Individuals who said that they speak a little Hausa were not included entirely with either acculturated or unacculturated responses, but were divided equally into both (this was the procedure adopted throughout for intermediary responses). Thus, according to this method of calculation, 51 per cent of the sample speak Hausa. Turning now to the eight groups individually, 4 of the 5 members of the Aristocracy (80 per cent) speak Hausa. The difference between 51 per cent and 80 per cent represents the deviation between this group and the

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entire sample, and is indicated in question 1, Table XL by a black bar extending to the value of 29. The direction is towards greater acculturation as the percentage in the group of Aristocracy exceeds that of the entire sample. Only one of 3 Koranic Malams (33 per cent) speaks Hausa, therefore the black bar extends to 18 (51-33) in the direction of unacculturated responses in the first item of their acculturation profile (Table XLI). And so on for each of the eight groups.

The forth-three questions used to construct the profile have been grouped to present behavioral areas. Several of these questions are not acculturation measures at all, but have been included nevertheless for comparative purposes. Thus, knowledge of other languages (3), ability to write in Arabic script (5), and possession of a horse (10) are not to be considered as indices of acculturation when it appears that a high proportion of individuals in any group exhibit these responses. However, such responses (possession of a horse, for example) do shed light on other responses (possession of a bicycle).

One item, ideas about the usefulness of a wrist watch (Table XX), required a different scoring of responses since each type of response had to be given a score as to degree of acculturation--responses in column A were scored 0; those in column B were scored 1; those in column c were scored 2; and those in column D were scored 3. Item 21, concerning the wearing of charms, was broken in three categories: those who wore many charms, those who wore a few, and those who wore charms only

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*177 128 when traveling. One item discussed in the text, occupations in which individuals wish to be engaged (Table XXXII), could not be included in the acculturation profiles as the answers to that question did not permit expression as simple percentages.

121 *177 Several points emerge clearly from a consideration of the acculturation profiles. First of all, it is apparent that some groups are generally more acculturated than other groups--most of their responses fall within the acculturated column. Others are generally unacculturated and their responses cluster in the unacculturated column. Secondly, in no group do we find that all responses, in every behavioral area, are acculturated or unacculturated. Each group has behavioral areas in which it appears most acculturated, others in which it is close to the entire sample, and still others in which it appears unacculturated. Finally, from a comparison of the eight acculturation profiles, one can derive a measure of the relative stability of [128] each group. A stable group is determined by the consistency of responses. A group would be said to be stable when (a) the items within any one behavioral area are consistently in one direction, and (b) the size of the differences between acculturated and unacculturated responses is not very great.

*177 565 1. Aristocracy. The acculturation profile of the Aristocracy is presented in Table XL. The Aristocracy are obviously an acculturated group on the whole, as almost all of their responses fall on the acculturated side of the baseline. In

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*177 565 only one area do they clearly reveal themselves as conservative, and that is in the area of treatment of specific diseases (items 24-29). Inconsistencies are revealed within this behavioral area as the responses of the group are acculturated for four items (22, 23, 27, 29) and unacculturated for four others. Most striking is the response of this group to the question of the treatment of smallpox (28), which was discussed earlier. At several other points the Aristocracy appear unacculturated, but the degree is very slight in the case of items 2 and 43. Item 42 may be slightly more significant.

On the whole, the pattern of acculturation of the Aristocracy is that of a relatively stable group. In their one area of marked unacculturation, the explanation would seem to lie in the political implications of the treatment for smallpox. The resistance which the Aristocracy has for Western treatment of smallpox seems to extend to other diseases as well, though in not so severe a form. Yet they are not totally unacculturated in this behavioral area, and thus give inconsistent responses.

*177 792 2. Koranic Malams. A note of caution must be introduced in discussing this group. Only three individuals are represented here, and conclusions based on this group are less sure than in other cases. Their acculturation profile is presented in Table XLI. Generally, they are a very unacculturated group. Their conservative responses in certain behavioral areas, those of religious behavior, education, and treatment of disease, are predictable considering the areas with which a Koranic Malam is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 344]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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Table II

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE ARISTOCRATS

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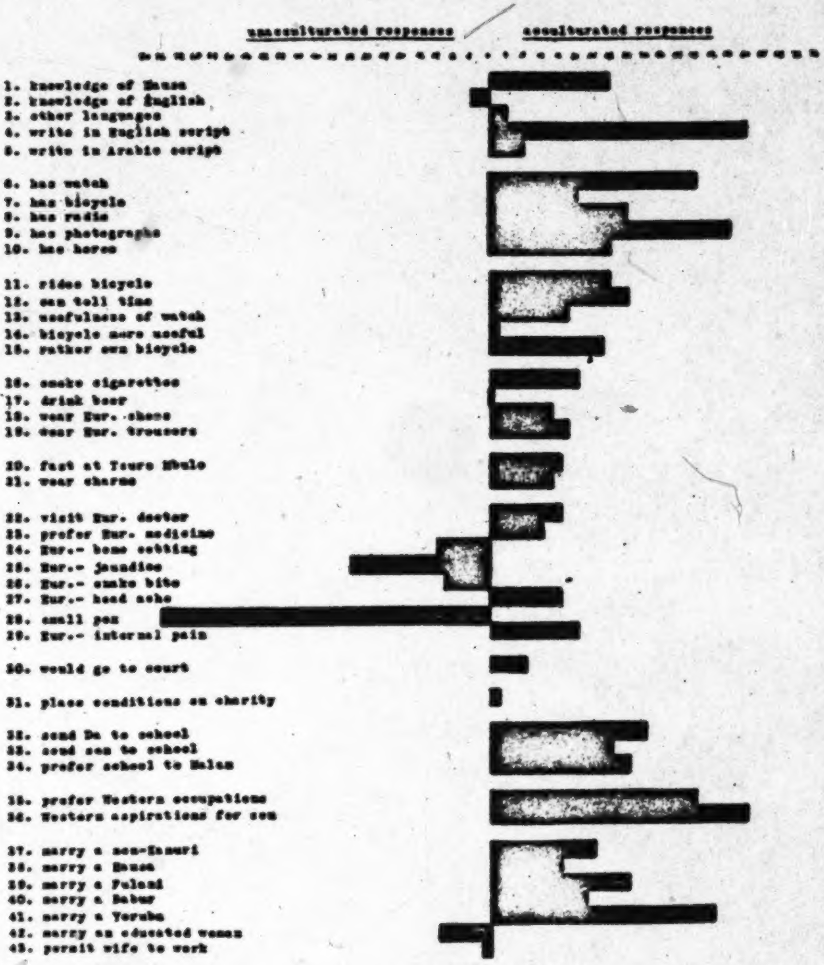

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Table XLI

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE KORANIC MALAMS

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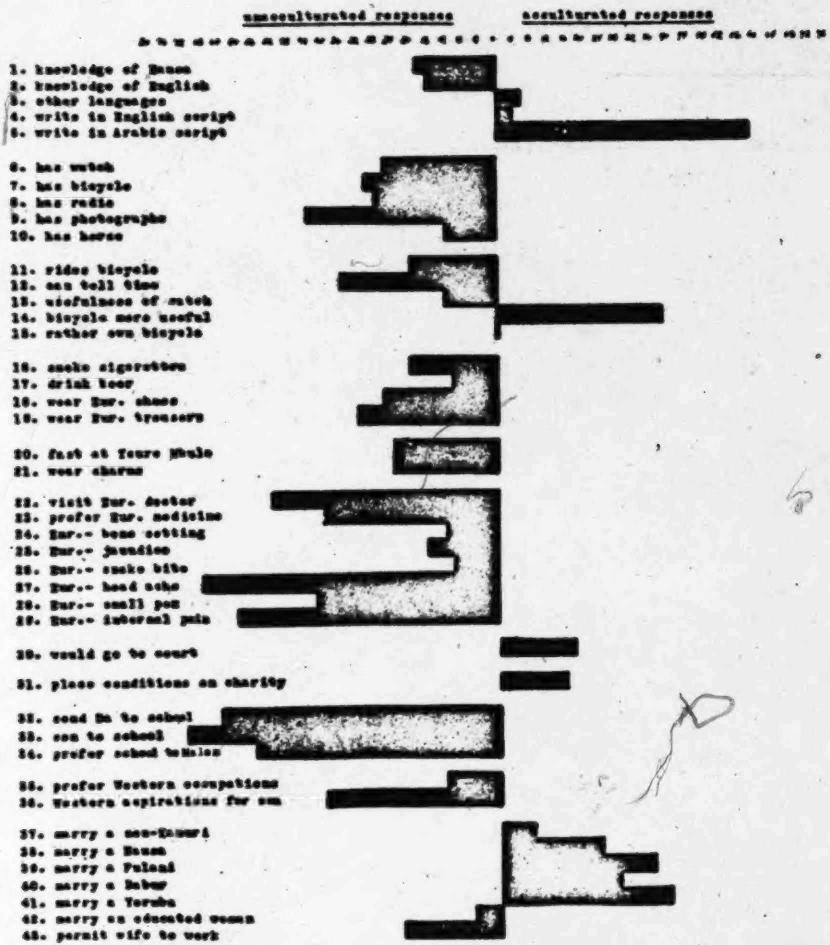

*177 792 concerned. Item 5 is not to be taken as a measure of acculturation; the Koranic Malams naturally write in Arabic script.

In certain areas, however, they respond in acculturated fashion. They are willing to marry a non-Kanuri and distinctly more willing to marry each of the four tribes noted in items 38-41. When the condition that the woman be a Moslem is added, the Koranic Malams show themselves to be a tolerant group. This is probably because their primary allegiance is to Islam rather than to Kanuri culture. Thus as long as behavior does not conflict with Islamic behavioral expectations, they would have no real objection, and in the case of marriage, state that they would be willing to marry a wide range of women so long as they were Moslem. Similarly, Allah is their guide in the case of settlement of disputes, so that they appear acculturated in Item 30, and in Item 31 the conditions placed on charity are that the individual would behave as Allah told him to. I have no explanation, frankly, for their response to Item 14. On the whole, the relative consistency of the answers of the Koranic Malams would indicate that they are a stable group.

*177 441 3. Canteen Operators. The Canteen Operators epitomize an unstable group. Omitting the three items not dealing with acculturation measures, 18 of their responses are on the acculturated side, 20 are on the unacculturated side, and 2 are precisely at the mid-point. They are consistent in only two behavioral areas: they are acculturated in the possession of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 346]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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Table XLII

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE CANTEEN OPERATORS

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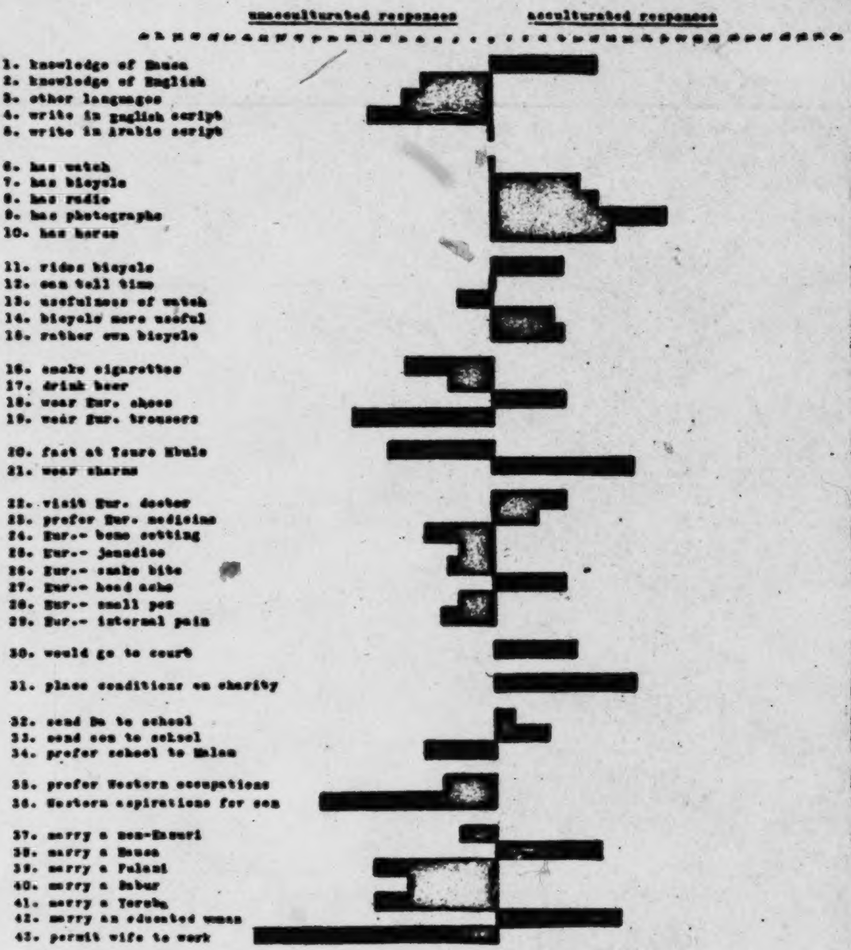

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*177 441 Western material goods (Items 6-9) and unacculturated in their choice of occupations and in the aspirations for their sons (Items 35, 36). They speak Hausa, but not other languages, and they cannot write in English script. They possess material goods, and their responses concerning the bicycle (Items 11, 14, 15) are acculturated, but they are at the mid-point when it comes to telling time. Furthermore, their statements concerning the usefulness of a wrist watch are in the unacculturated direction. They would wear shoes (acculturated) but would not wear trousers (unacculturated). They fast, but do not wear charms. They would visit the doctor and prefer European medicine to drinking the ink of the Koran, yet respond that Kanuri treatment is better for 5 of the 6 diseases. They would send their son to school, yet prefer the Koranic Malam to the school. They would marry a Hausa woman, but not any of the other three tribes. Lastly, they would marry an educated woman, but are extremely conservative and would not let her work.

All of their responses are intelligible when one looks at their roles. Yet the pattern of their responses is indicative of an unstable group, more so than any of the other seven groups.

*177 634 4. NA Malams. The NA Malams come closest to being a group all of whose responses fall in the acculturated category. Their responses are heavily in the acculturated direction in the areas of language and writing and in the area of possession

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Table XLIII

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE BA MALAMS

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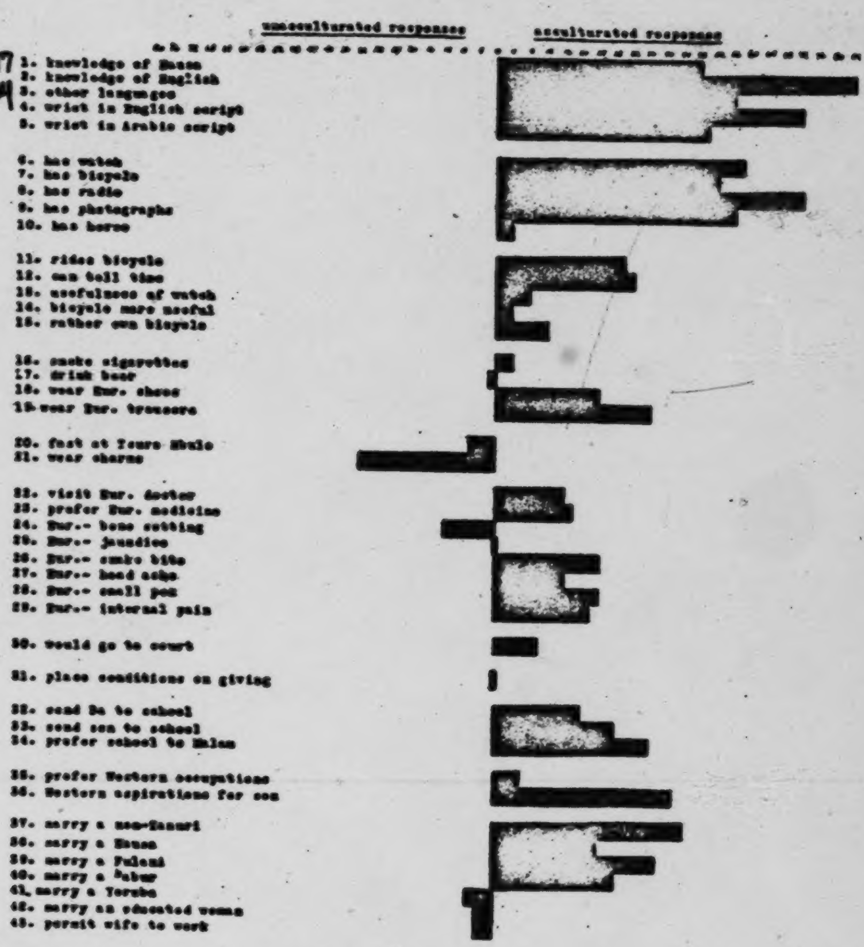

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*177 634 of Western material goods. But even the group of NA Malams reveals certain behavioral areas in which it is not very acculturated, in which in fact it is slightly unacculturated. These are the areas of religious behavior generally, drinking beer (17), fasting (20), and wearing charms (21). With respect to the latter item they are quite unacculturated. They are also somewhat more hesitant about marrying an educated woman (42) and permitting her to work.(43). The tendency is not very pronounced for these two items, but the direction is interesting for such an acculturated group. On the whole they are a consistent and a stable group.

5. Kabuna. The Kabuna are generally an unacculturated group. Their responses are predominantly in the unacculturated direction, though none (except perhaps Item 9) are extreme. Once again, Item 10 is not to be taken as a measure of acculturation. In two behavioral areas their answers are in the acculturated direction, but within these areas they are on the whole consistent in their responses. For five of the six diseases presented (Items 24-29) they favor European treatment, though they do state a preference for drinking the ink of Koranic verses to European medicine (Item 23). The other area in which they show themselves to be acculturated is that of education, and here they are entirely consistent. They prefer Western schools for both son and daughter (Items 32, 33) and prefer school to the Koranic Malam (Item 34). Furthermore, their aspirations for their sons (36) are also acculturated,

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Table XLIV

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE KANURI

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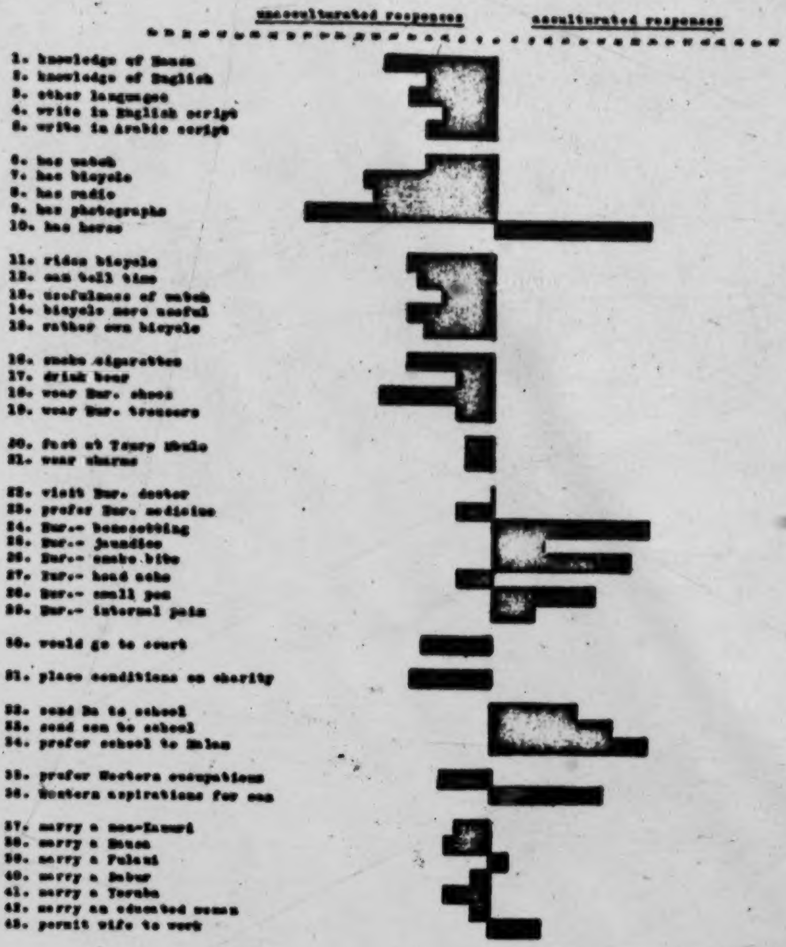

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634 consistent with their desire to educate their children in Western schools.

Since the group of Kabuna are a part of the political organization, they are able to realize the advantages of certain behavioral alternatives introduced by contact. Though they themselves do not interact with agents of Western culture, and are consequently not a very acculturated group, they show a degree of acculturation in their attitudes towards Western medicine and education. Their own aspirations are traditional but they favor Western education for their children, presumably because Western education is a factor in present day political advancement, and they favor Western aspirations for their sons. They appear to be a stable group according to the proposed criteria.

*177
463 6. Craftsmen. The Craftsmen are the most consistently unacculturated group of the eight. Though their responses do not indicate extreme degrees of conservatism, they are remarkably consistent in their choice of unacculturated responses. They are less likely to fast than other groups (Item 20), and they state that they would visit a European doctor (Item 22), though they prefer Kanuri treatment to European treatment for 4 of the 6 diseases. They are close to the mid-point for all three items dealing with education (Items 32-34), and themselves show a very slight preference for Western occupations (35) though their aspirations for their sons are strongly in the direction of traditional Kanuri occupations (36). They are slightly more per-

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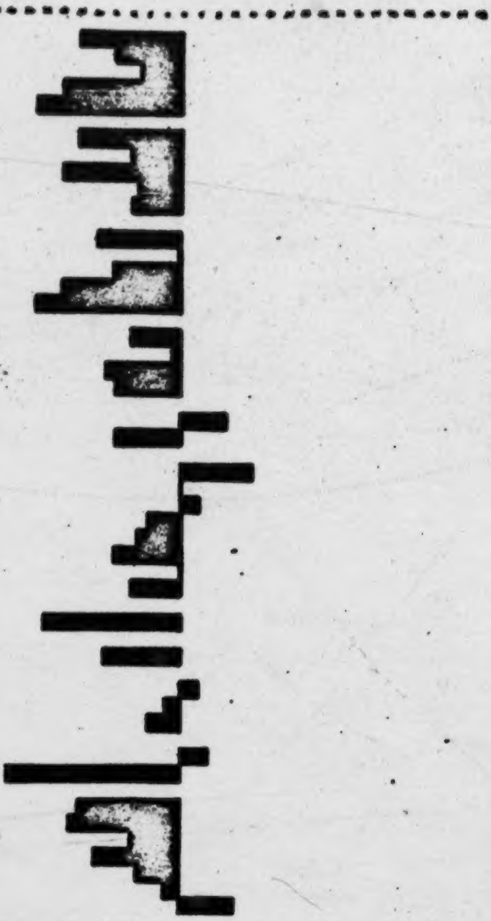
Table XLV

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE CRAFTSMEN

unacculturated responses acculturated responses



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1. knowledge of Hausa
2. knowledge of English
3. other languages
4. write in English script
5. write in Arabic script

6. has watch
7. has bicycle
8. has radio
9. has photographs
10. has horse

11. rides bicycle
12. can tell time
13. usefulness of watch
14. bicycle more useful
15. rather own bicycle

16. smoke cigarettes
17. drink beer
18. wear Eur. shoes
19. wear Eur. trousers

20. fast at Tsure Mbulo
21. wear charms

22. visit Eur. doctor
23. prefer Eur. medicine
24. Eur.- bone setting
25. Eur.- jaundice
26. Eur.- snake bite
27. Eur.- head ache
28. Eur.- small pox
29. Eur.- internal pain

30. would go to court

31. place conditions on charity

32. send Da to school
33. send son to school
34. prefer school to Malam

35. prefer Western occupations
36. Western aspirations for son

37. marry a non-Kanuri
38. marry a Hausa
39. marry a Fulani
40. marry a Babur
41. marry a Yoruba
42. marry an educated woman
43. permit wife to work

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*177 463 missive about allowing their wives to work (43).

Not only do the Craftsmen present the fewest number of acculturated responses (6 in all), but in items where they do show themselves to be acculturated the response is not marked. One might therefore say that they are the most stably unacculturated group of all.

*177 565 7. Talaka. The most striking feature about the Talaka profile is the way in which it remains close to the baseline. The most extreme response is that concerning possession of a horse (10) which is not diagnostic of degree of acculturation. No other response exceeds a value of 32. This is true of no other profile. Excluding the three items that are not indicative of degree of acculturation, 20 items fall on the unacculturated side, and 19 fall on the acculturated side (one is at the mid-point). But for no less than 12 items the response is within a value of 4 from the mid-point--in other words the degree of deviation from the mid-point is of no significance for those items.

The group of Talaka cannot be characterized as generally acculturated or generally unacculturated. They are like the Canteen Operators in this respect, but unlike the canteen operators they are not an inconsistent group. Their responses do not swing wildly from acculturated to unacculturated and within each behavioral area they tend to be consistent. They are unacculturated with respect to language and to the possession of material goods. They are slightly acculturated in their attitudes towards these items, though at no point do they show ex-

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Table XLVI

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE TALAKA

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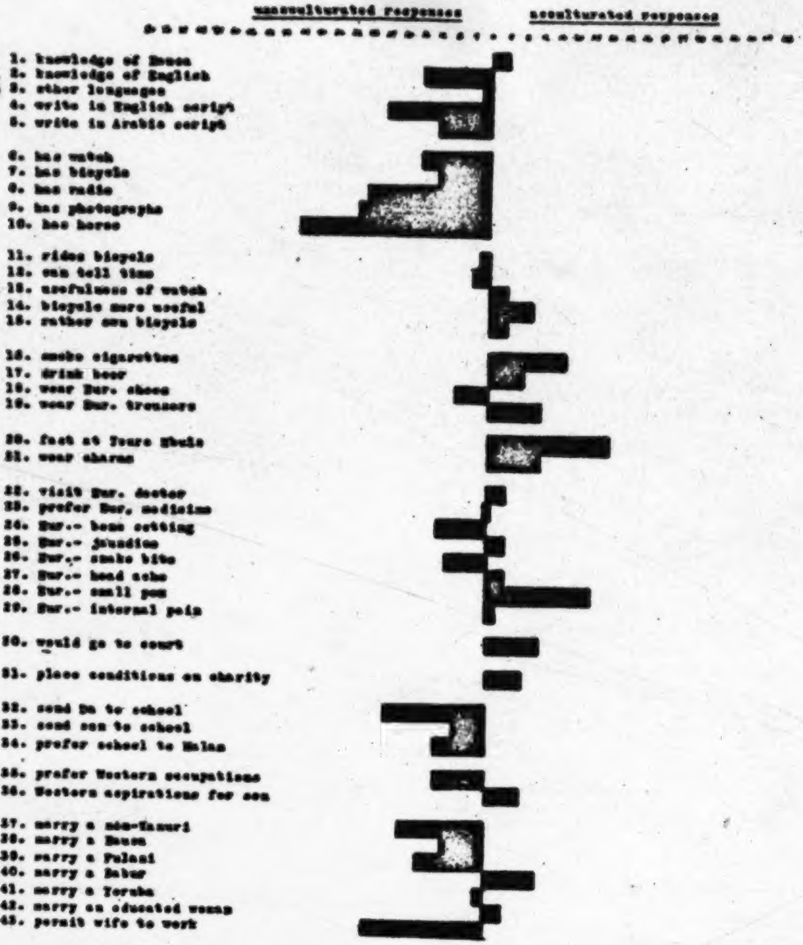

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*177 565 tremes of response. They are acculturated in the area of religious behavior. In the area of medicine, they stay close to the baseline for the entire group, though they do show a preference for Western treatment of smallpox. They are consistently conservative with respect to education, and are generally conservative in their attitudes towards marriage. The Talaka are a stable group that is neither very acculturated nor very conservative.

*177 554 8. Low-status Individuals. The group of Low-status individuals is small and is therefore less reliable than other groups. On the whole they appear to be a generally unacculturated group. The extremity of their responses give them the appearance of an unstable group, though this might have been brought about by their few numbers. Within individual behavioral areas they appear fairly consistent. They appear acculturated in certain items of Western material goods: smoking cigarettes (Item 16), wearing shoes (Item 18). With respect to the treatment of diseases they show a preference for European treatment of 5 of the 6 diseases, though here they seem most inconsistent since they are distinctly unacculturated in their hesitancy to visit a European doctor (Item 22). They also appear quite acculturated in their willingness to allow their wives to work.

Much of their inconsistency and consequently their apparent instability can be explained in terms of their low status in Kanuri society. It is surely this which accounts for their readiness to allow their wives to go out and work as a school-

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Table XLVII

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE GROUP OF LOW-STATUS INDIVIDUALS

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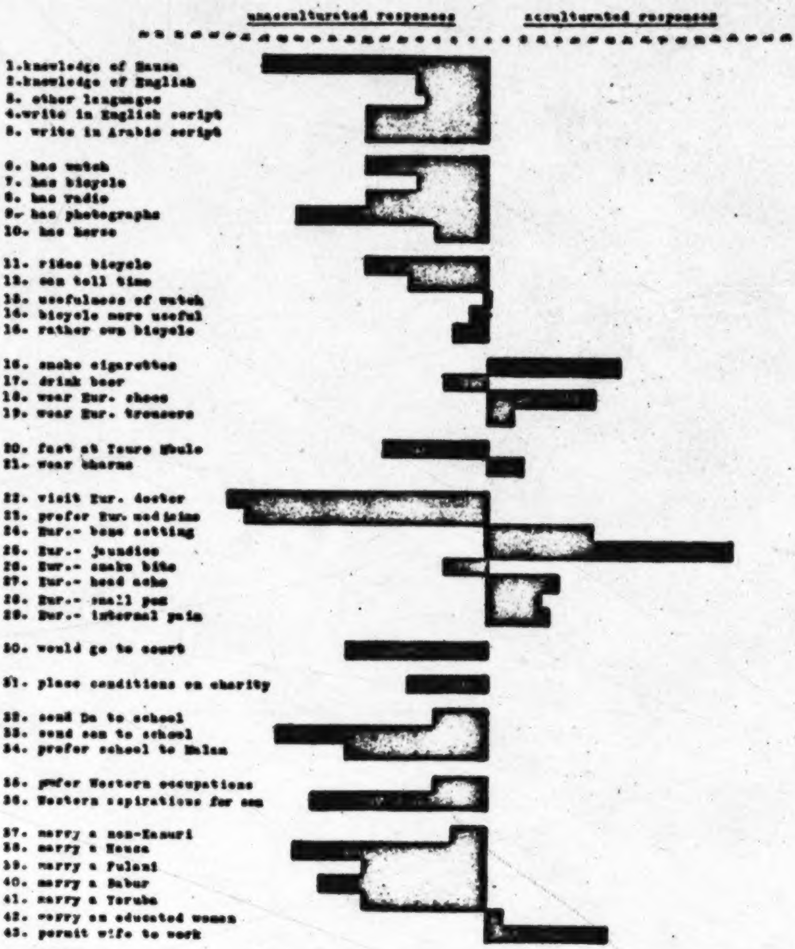

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* 177
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teacher. They smoke cigarettes and are willing to wear European shoes and trousers because they do not threaten their status within Kanuri society by doing so. They are not in a position to be directly influenced by contact with Western industrial society, and are thus little acculturated, but in certain areas of material culture about which they have some familiarity they are willing to behave in an acculturated fashion. One might even argue that they feel that Western medicine is generally the more effective, though they actually know very little in this area, but their contact with Western culture is so slight that they cannot imagine themselves visiting a European doctor for treatment.

Chapter VI

Interpretations and Conclusions

[GEIDAM]

121 The present study approached the problem of acculturation in the Kanuri community of Geidam through community social structure. From the theoretical position put forth in Chapter IV several hypotheses were derived. Data were then offered through which these hypotheses might be examined. While one could not claim that these hypotheses were "proved" by the data presented here, they were nevertheless upheld throughout.

121 *177 The first hypothesis stated that groups and categories making up the social structure of a community vary in their degree of acculturation. The general degree of acculturation of each of the eight groups and categories can be readily ascertained from the acculturation profiles presented in Chapter V, and the groups can be ranked in the following manner:

1. Acculturated groups: NA Malams
   Aristocracy
2. Intermediary groups: Canteen Operators
   Talaka
3. Unacculturated groups: Kabuna
   Low-status Individuals
   Koranic Malams
   Craftsmen

The extent of difference between the acculturated and the unacculturated groups above would tend to verify hypothesis 1.

The second hypothesis stated that groups and categories in the social structure would acculturate in different behavioral areas at different rates. An examination of the acculturation profiles reveals that this is generally the case. The most acculturated groups (NA Malams and Aristocracy) re-

121 *177 veal areas in which they are unacculturated; the most unacculturated groups similarly reveal areas of behavior in which they are acculturated. That these differences in degree of acculturation are determined by the relation of a given group or category to that area of behavior, as is stated in the second sentence of hypothesis 2, is readily apparent from the data. Explanations of these differences in the above discussion have repeatedly sought to relate them to the roles of the group concerned. If these explanations have been convincing, then hypothesis 2 may be said to have been upheld.

It is somewhat more difficult to discuss the implications of the data which have been presented above for hypothesis 3. Hypothesis 3 states that groups and categories which have become acculturated in certain areas will show strong tendencies to reaffirm strict behavioral norms in other areas. The position of a group within the existing social structure plays an important part not only in determining the areas in which acculturation is likely to occur but also in determining those behavioral areas in which acculturation would not be expected to occur--i.e., those areas in which the group reaffirms traditional behavioral norms.

This may be illustrated by selecting three of the groups whose profiles have been presented in the previous chapter for comparison. The three groups are the following:

a) NA Malams - acculturated and stable.
b) Canteen Operators - intermediary in acculturation and unstable.
c) Craftsmen - unacculturated and stable.

*177 634 156 The NA Malams are the most acculturated group of the eight which have been described. How would one account for the fact that

*77 634 156 [554]

they are such a stable group then? The role of the NA Malam is clearly defined. His Western education is generally acknowledged as a useful thing and he is accorded prestige by being called "Malam". The goals of the NA Malams are traditional Kanuri goals. This is brought home most strikingly in their choice of occupations (Table XXXIII) where four of the six NA Malams chose "Lowan." Their education, their knowledge of the English language, their general high degree of acculturation have not hindered them from attaining positions of political power, a very traditional goal in Kanuri society. On the contrary, these things have become assets. The acculturated individual is at an advantage over the unacculturated individual in rapidly rising within the political system. This state of things will remain at its present level only so long as: (a) the number of NA Malams does not rapidly increase so that many individuals are competing for a limited number of political positions, which would mean that a group of disgruntled and disappointed individuals would be created, and, (b) their degree of acculturation does not reach the point where their goals, too, will change. At present, in the community of Geidam, neither of the latter conditions have arisen. It can also be seen from their acculturation profile that the NA Malams adhere to important Kanuri values in other areas. They do not smoke or drink beer; they fast and wear many charms; they are not reluctant to give gifts of charity; and they would tend to avoid marrying an educated woman or let her work. All

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*177 634 156 of these indicate that the NA Malams have not rejected important Kanuri values in the course of their acculturation. Though they are a very acculturated group, they are in no danger of drifting away from Kanuri culture and becoming deviants. Consequently they are a stable group, with clearly defined roles and mutually understood expectations and obligations. Other Kanuri can understand the NA Malam, and the NA Malam himself realizes the "self" that he wishes to convey without having to affirm his Kanuri identity through exaggerated behavior.

*177 463 [354] The Craftsmen represent the opposite extreme of an unacculturated and stable group. Their primary role requires highly skilled and specialized behavior of them and their status is respected in the community. Although their activities are primarily within the economic area, the range of individuals with whom they interact is narrow and they have little or no direct contact with agents of Western society. Their knowledge of languages and of writing is slight. They have few Western goods, nor do they know much about these items. They are not very strict about fasting and drinking beer, but in other areas they adhere strongly to Kanuri values, such as taking disputes for arbitration and giving gifts of charity. They show a slight inclination to favor European doctors, and they favor Western occupations though their aspirations for their sons are strongly traditional. They are not very conservative about education generally. The overall picture of the Craftsmen is of a group that is obviously not very acculturated, but their responses,

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*177 463 though consistently in the unacculturated direction, are not strongly conservative. They are a consistent, though not an exaggeratedly, conservative group, and in some areas (medical treatment, education) they appear receptive to change. The Craftsmen are a group whose position within Kanuri society has led to a minimum of interaction with agents of Western culture, so that they have remained an unacculturated and stable group. This situation, too, may change if: (a) Western technology is introduced and alters traditional Kanuri craft techniques while retaining the craftsmen themselves, or, (b) imported Western goods begin to compete more directly with the goods and services produced by the Craftsmen. In either instance, one would predict that the Craftsmen would begin to show a higher degree of acculturation and a loss in stability as a group.

*177 441 The Canteen Operators are an intermediary group in their degree of acculturation and the most unstable group which was studied. Many of the inconsistencies in the behavior of the Canteen Operators seem to be explained in terms of hypothesis 3. Unlike the NA Malams who themselves derive from the Aristocracy, or from households of traditional political leaders, the Canteen Operators as a group derive from the Talaka. They have risen most rapidly in the accumulation of wealth, and through their newly acquired wealth they have sought to achieve power and prestige. Because of the rapid changes in their status, their roles are not as clearly defined as the roles of

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*177 441 the NA Malam--yet the NA Malams are the more acculturated group overall. Trade was present in Kanuri society long before the coming of the British, but with increased Western contact new alternatives were introduced in the network of external trade. Some of the individuals who accepted these new alternatives had success in their trading ventures, and their abilities to rapidly master the new techniques involved led to even greater successes. Their very acceptance of these new alternatives represented a measure of acculturation, for they now interacted regularly with non-Kanuri managers of the trading companies, some of them Europeans. In the course of these new activities the successful Kanuri traders, who later became the operators of their own canteens, learned new trading skills and learned about the intricacies of the credit system through which so much buying and selling takes place. In addition, they learned to speak Hausa and became accustomed to dealing frequently with Hausas. As they became wealthier, their contacts with Western culture led them to acquire many of the new material possessions available in Geidam--in particular bicycles and radios. Only two Kanuri in Geidam, both members of [493] the Aristocracy, possessed automobiles at the time that this study was done. Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, had both a Chrysler sedan and a Land Rover, and the Alkali acquired a GM pick-up truck during that year. It can be predicted that the next member of the Geidam community to buy a car would be a member of the trading group, because of their wealth and because of their

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*177 441 accepting attitude towards Western material goods.

Having accepted these new behavioral alternatives and having achieved great success in their new activities, the status of the group of canteen operators began to change. Their roles were new and strange to them; they were unclear of their obligations in the changing situation. Though they now had important statuses in the community, there was no title to accompany these statuses. A pious Moslem who becomes wealthy is able to fulfill his obligation to carry out the pilgrimage to Mecca, and this the Canteen Operators did at the first opportunity. Five of the six members of that group in the present study became Alhajis, a title by which the pilgrim is henceforth addressed. This is a means to acquire prestige in the community, but it also serves another purpose --it demonstrates that the individual concerned is a pillar of faith in the community and may be expected to uphold traditional ways.

*177 441 156 The "self" which the Canteen Operators seek to communicate to others is of an individual who is conservative, an upholder of tradition. This is in contrast to their acceptance of new sorts of behavior and to the recent changes to which they have been party within the social structure. Indeed, it is because of these things that the Canteen Operators present such a conservative "self" and in so doing they exhibit be- [68] havior which is predicted in hypothesis 3. In the case of the Canteen Operators the sanctions involved would be the rejection

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*177 441 156 [681] by others of the right of the Canteen Operators to occupy important positions in the community. This would be brought about by a denial of power and prestige on the part of other community members. In order to prevent this from happening, the Canteen Operators assert their identity as part of the Kanuri community by stressing traditional Kanuri values. It is their considerable degree of acculturation in certain behavioral areas, taken with their extreme conservatism, frequently in the same area of behavior, which leads to the characterization of the group as an unstable group.

Their inconsistencies, as exhibited in Table XLII, occur in almost every area of behavior. They would wear European shoes, but decidedly would not wear European trousers, thus indicating their extreme sensitivity to the difference between these two items of clothing. They fast at Tsuro Mbulo, though they rarely wear charms. They would visit a European doctor and prefer European medicine, though they prefer the Kanuri method of treatment for five of the six diseases. They would take their disputes to court and tend to place conditions on the giving of charitable gifts, and both of these have been discussed in terms of the ambiguity of expectations in their roles. They would send their son to school though they state a preference for the Koranic Malam over the Western school. They would marry a Hausa woman, though not a woman of any of the other tribes. Their most pronounced inconsistency is in the final two items of their profile. They are strongly in favor

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177 441 156 of marrying an educated woman, but extremely conservative about permitting her to work as a school-teacher. In fact, their response to this question seems to be exaggerated in its adherence to upper class traditional Kanuri norms.

121 177 441 156 The behavior of the group of Canteen Operators, compared to that of the NA Malams and the Craftsmen, is entirely consistent with the predictions made in hypothesis 3. They have become acculturated in certain behavioral areas as a result of the interactions brought about by their roles in trade. Their new status in the community has resulted in further acculturation in still other areas (attitudes towards arbitration of disputes, attitudes towards generosity and charity). But their need to reaffirm their Kanuri identity and to validate their new positions in Kanuri society has led them to underline their affirmation of traditional Kanuri values, frequently by assuming exaggerated poses. Their behavior lends support to the third hypothesis advanced earlier.

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121 The theoretical significance of the present study is in the view of acculturation which has been put forth. Heretofore, acculturation studies have relied heavily on two types of approach: (1) the relationship between acculturation and personality variables (as exemplified by the writings of Hallowell, Wallace, Caudill, Vogt and Mead), and (2) the attempt to delineate which areas of culture change most rapidly as a result of contact and which areas of culture remain resistant to change.

4

121 The view adopted in the present study is that culture contact does not occur through the meeting of two amorphous and cloud-like masses, which is the underlying assumption of the approaches indicated above. To assume that certain personality types are receptive to culture change while other personality types are resistant to change is to imagine the contact situation in entirely unstructured terms, in which individuals of one personality type gravitate towards agents of contact while individuals of still a different personality type shrink from the agents of contact and thus remain unacculturated. Similarly, an approach which attempts to isolate those aspects of culture which change most rapidly (technology, for example) from still other aspects of culture (religion, social organization) which are most resistant to change, also assumes an unstructured contact situation in which two amorphous entities come into contact and bring about changes in areas most susceptible to change.

These simplistic views of acculturation overlook an elementary anthropological lesson. Culture and society are equally present, and society implies structure. Every ongoing society functions through a system of social organization, and in every case of culture contact two social structures are to be found in interaction. In recent years several anthropologists have realized the weaknesses in the common approach to acculturation problems, and have advocated an emphasis on so-

12|cial structure.[1] However, only Raymond Firth has put forth a systematic view of social structure which is inclusive enough to be useful in analyzing situations of culture change.[2]

The approach suggested by Firth in several of his works has provided the basis for the conceptual framework of the present study. This has been elaborated somewhat by borrowing from other writers (notably Linton, Nadel, Merton, Goffman, and Leach) in order to construct what might be called a rudimentary role theory. The theoretical approach put forth here is sufficiently broad to be able to handle problems in several fields, among them: social structure, deviance and social control, and socialization. In the present study it was applied to a problem of acculturation.

It is hoped that the analysis of Kanuri acculturation which has been presented here has succeeded in shedding light on the general process of culture change. If this has been the case, then the theoretical approach will have been validated.

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1. Edward H. Spicer, Edward P. Dozier, and George C. Barker, "Social Structure and the Acculturation Process," *American Anthropologist*, 60, No. 3 (1958), 433-455.

   Robert F. Maher, "Social Structure and Cultural Change in Papua," *American Anthropologist*, 62, No. 4 (1960), 593-602.

2. Raymond Firth, "Social Organization and Social Change," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 84 (1954), 1-20.

104

Glossary of Kanuri words cited in the text

aba - father

abagana - father's younger brother

abakura - father's older brother

adim (Ar.) - eunuch

ajari - dwelling place of the District Head (Ajia).

Ajia - District Head; Appointed Kanuri official governing a district of Bornu Province.

alewa - candy

algator - traditional Kanuri reed instrument

Alhaji (Ar.) - one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca

Alkali (Ar.) - judge

"Allah Ngubero" (in full: Allah nyiro ngubero gənanzə - "May Allah keep you for a long time!") - traditional deferential phrase said to someone of higher status

alo (Ar.) - wooden writing board on which Koranic verses are written. The term is also used for medicine made of the ink in which Koranic verses were written.

Ardo - Fulani lineage head

ashem (Ar.) - fast

bakama - retail seller of kola nuts

baləsma - tradesman who buys goods on credit in one place, sells his goods elsewhere, and then pays back his debt

baru - smallpox

bati - spoiled; deflowered; no longer a virgin

bawa - farher's sister

104 bəji - finely woven reed mat for sitting and sleeping purposes

bələm - porridge made of millet and soured milk

bəri - porridge, usually made of millet flour; the standard Kanuri food

bərzəm - respect

"Bismillahi" (Ar.) - "In the name of Allah"; uttered before any undertaking

boye - jealousy towards a former spouse

Bulama - hamlet head

bur - black wooden bowl from which one eats; made by Shuwa Arabs

chibuna - namesake; the individual for whom a child is named is his chibuna, a reciprocal term

Chima - the feudal fief-holder in pre-British times. The chima lived in the capital.

Chima Gana - representative of the Chima who actually lives on the land and sees to its affairs

chinna - door or gateway to a compound

chir - concubine; female slave taken into the household of her master

dandal - central plaza in a Kanuri town on which the compound of the village or district head faces

dareja (Ar.) - respect (also - bərzəm)

dəla - a final state of divorce where reconciliation is no longer possible

dilel - commission

dilelma - one who arranges a sale and takes a share of the sale price

104 Duar (Ar.) - the second prayer time; about 2 PM

dur - family; relatives

dur bube - family through blood; kin related through one's father

dur chambe - family through milk; kin related through one's mother

fatorongabe - levirate

fato - house

fatoma - a tradesman who arranges sales while the prospective seller remains lodged at the house of the fatoma

fale - blossom of the tobacco plant, used by women for staining teeth

farak - open communal area of the compound

fatkema - seller of traditional sundries in the market-place

fugu - hymen

fugurum - payment at marriage for loss of virginity

gawi - slave without a master

Gonyi - a Malam who has learned the Koran by heart

goro - kola nut

goroma - wholesaler of kola nuts

gursu (Ar.) - Maria Theresa Thaler

haj (Ar.) - pilgrimage to Mecca

haraji - property tax

haram (Ar.) - forbidden by Islamic law

jangəli - tax on cattle

jili - kind, sort; nation, people, or kin group

jinn (Ar.) - spirit

joku - stingy, miserly

104 kabuna - mounted retainer of the Shehu or of an Ajia; "knights"

kafelo - present to a person of higher rank

kagala - title conferred by the Shehu

kalə yaskə - young girl who wears her hair as an adolexcent; a virgin

kalya - a slave

kalyari - a fief which is administered by the slave of a chima

kambe - free-born

kasugu (Ar.) - market

kəji - pleasant, agreeable, sweet

kəmanzə fatobe - owner of the house; master of the household

"kəmanyi" - "My lord", phrase said by a slave to his master

kəntuo - power, influence

kəntuoma - one having power- member of the nobility

kərami - younger brother; younger sister

kardi - pagan; neither Moslem nor Christian

komadugu - river

kugui - chicken

kulle - keeping wives secluded

kulugu - man's long outer gown

kunjo - gift

kususu - a woman's closest friend

Ladan (Ar.) - muezzin, calls Moslems to prayer

laya (Ar.) - charm or amulet inscribed with verses from the Koran

Liman (Ar.) - Imam, one who leads prayers in the mosque

Liman Nguməribe - prayer leader on religious holidays

Liman Zəmabe - prayer leader at the Friday afternoon communal prayer

104 Lowan (Ar.) - village head
luwali (Ar.) - protector; the bride or bridegroom's representative
luwaliram - initial marriage payment
Mai - king in the days when the capital of the empire of Bornu
was at Birni Ngazargamo
Malam (Ar.) - scholar of the Koran
məri - third payment in the bride-price
moduləs - Shehu's council
murshe - a chir (concubine) who has been given her own house
nasara - European; white man
nasha - gift
nəmgəmtəm - one's lover, paramour
nəngima - one with whom one has a joking relationship
ngalwo - royalty
nguməri - religious festival
nguro - ward; quarter of a town
nogena - formal respect paid to a superior in status
nungu - shame
nungu ba - shameless, provocative, rude
rawa - mother's brother
riba - profit
ribama - tradesman who buys goods on credit, sells, and then
pays his debt (same as baləsma)
risa (Ar.) - bribe
ro (Ar.) - soul
ro kura - false pride, arrogance
sabər - trade

104 sabərma - tradesman who buys in one place and sells elsewhere at a profit
sadaka (Ar.) - voluntary alms
sadak (Ar.) - The Islamic marriage payment by the husband to the wife
sallah (Ar.) - ritual prayer
səbdə - Saturday
sədagu - the Kanuri bride-price (see Sadak above), paid in addition to luwaliram
səgdi - coarse grass mat used for fencing a compound
sənasən - pancakes
Shahada (Ar.) - the confession of faith for all Moslems
Shehu (Ar.) - title for the ruler of the empire of Bornu, after the Sef dynasty of Mais was deposed; derived from "Sheikh"
Shehuri - palace of the Shehu
Shetima Kanuribe - title granted to the head of all Kanuri within the empire after the ascent of the Shehus.
sholo (Ar.) - arbitration of disputes
sugurumma - house slave in a position of trust; "keeper of the keys"
susana - a house slave
tabərma - seller of imported sundry goods in the market-place
talaka - commoner; poor man
tajimi - prayer beads (Ar. - madua)
tata - son; boy

104 tata njima - "son of a household"; fictive kin term used for young men who are part of a large household

tuno - internal pain

Wakil (Ar.) - literally: representative; assistant to the Ajia and head of all his Kabuna

walidi (Ar.) - servant

wujira - commission

wushira (Ar.) - fee paid to the court by the winner of a case

ya chinta - father's wife (in the case of plural wives)

ya kura - mother's elder sister

yaga (or yagana) - elder brother; elder sister

yal - members of a household who are not part of the nuclear family of the household head

yangai - Kanuri trousers

yigəna - mother's younger sister

zakat (Ar.) - tithe to support the church

zəgəsə - literally: narrow; the house area of each wife within the larger compound

Zəma - Friday, the Moslem Sabbath

zogor - divorced woman, eligible for remarriage

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2: Rosman

MS14 Kanuri MS14

792
634
441

[For responses of Koranic malams, canteen operators, NA malams and kabunas to questionnaires on acculturation, see charts in category 116, pp. 249-327.]

2: Rosman MS14 Kanuri MS14

829

[For information on Kanuri ideas about Western society and items of Western culture, as well as their attitudes toward native practices and norms, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

2: Rosman

MS14 Kanuri MS14

463
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[For information on acculturation among varied occupational groups (craftsmen, canteen operators, Koranic malams, NA malams and kabuna) and social groups (aristocracy, talaka and low-status individuals), and their responses to contact with material items of Western culture as well as Western medicine, education, language and occupations, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

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[For information on acculturation among varied occupational and social groups of Kanuri and their responses to contact with material items of Western culture as well as Western medicine, education, language and occupations, see category 116, pp. 249-367.]

2: Rosman

MS14 Kanuri MS14

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[For information on adherence to Kanuri norms and institutionalized practices, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

2: Rosman

MS14 Kanuri MS14

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[For Kanuri attitudes toward various occupations see categories 829, 554, and also category 116, pp. 303-318.]

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[For information on occupational specialization associated with particular ethnic minorities and non-Kanuri groups, see category 563.]

2: Rosman

MS14 Kanuri MS14

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[For information on appointment of the headman of the Fulani living among the Kanuri, see category 563.]